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'THIS IS NOT A COURT'

RAYMOND R. COFFEY

The Post-Industrial Generation

ROOTS OF STUDENT DISCONTENT

MERVIN B. FREEDMAN

It Walks Like a Man

Roy Bongartz

What So Proudly We Hailed

America's Lost Plays

Henry Popkin

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LETTERS

Machine myth

St. Louis, Mo.

Dear Sirs: One hesitates to criticize men of the deserved eminence of Theobald and Ellul. Yet I cannot refrain from a comment on "The Technological Society: A Dialogue" (*The Nation,* May 24). . . . I read that: "The technical phenomenon has assumed an independent character quite apart from economic considerations, and that it develops according to its own intrinsic laws. Technique has become man's new milieu, replacing his former natural milieu. And just as man's natural environment obeys its own physical, chemical and other laws, our artificial, technical environment is now so constituted that it also has its own laws of organization, development and reproduction."

Theobald is in agreement with this statement by Ellul. But what does it say? If one interprets it to mean that machines have some sort of independent existence, developing and multiplying according to their own laws apart from human plan or motivation, this would be a ludicrous bit of mystical metaphysics. . . . If, on the other hand, the authors imply that machines change man's economic, social and environmental structure, and that one new machine involves the introduction of others more complex and more efficient, this has been true since the discovery of fire and the invention of the arrow. To be sure, the rate of change is now vastly accelerated, and the effects on man's life infinitely more complicated, but the process is the same, and it does not help our understanding to introduce notions of mythical entities with their own biology and independent systems of reproduction. *Albert Kaplan, M.D.*

Medical ethics

Reseda, Calif.

Dear Sirs: Your May 3 issue of *The Nation* entitled "Doctors, Patients and Society" contained many justified points of criticism of the medical profession. However, in its all-out revelation of the faults of physicians, it contained some striking misconceptions of good medical practice:

(1) Normal organs, such as the appendix *are* justifiably removed during many exploratory operations, cholecystectomies, etc.

(2) The "placing of insurance price tags on practically any organ in the body that can be shaken loose" may be factual in some communities, but in the Los Angeles area, most insurance fee schedules are for *minimum* fees, averaging from 10 per cent to 90 per cent below that charged by ethical surgeons. . . .

The restrictive powers of the AMA are well known to the grass-roots physician. These include an unknown number of men who resent (as I do) the refusal of the hierarchy to consider our desires on such matters as social security for physicians, dues, etc. *Paul Herzog, M.D.*

In defense of the boar

Cambridge, Mass.

Dear Sirs: I have read Hunter S. Thompson's "The Motorcycle Gangs" [*The Nation,* May 17] with great interest. But more out of curiosity than in criticism I would be interested to know on what evidence Mr. Thompson bases his statement that "packs of wild boar" are "tough, mean and potentially dangerous." In my own experiences with wild boar (in the forests of Germany and France) they appeared to be as shy as wood pigeons; violent and dangerous only in despair, when cornered, or in defense of their young; tough of hide, yes, but scarcely "mean."

Kay Boyle

Another magazine

Detroit, Mich.

Dear Sirs: We have been besieged by a deluge of mail asking us if *The Young Guard* has become an organ for Young Americans for Freedom since you reported the name of that publication in your issue of April 12 (editorial, "The Smell of Bond"). As you might imagine, many of our friends were surprised to find that the magazine of a Zionist-Socialist youth movement would be used by such a conservative organization as YAF.

We would appreciate your printing the fact that Hashomer Hatzair and YAF both publish magazines called *The Young Guard,* but that the two groups are not connected in any way. *Baruch Fischhoff*

Gershon Koretz

Editors, The Young Guard

Hashomer Hatzair

Peace candidate

Skokie, Ill.

Dear Sirs: I find myself in complete agreement with Howard Parsons' letter (*The Nation,* May 3) in which he says that the thing to do is to "act now . . . to mount a massive resistance to U.S. imperialism and World War III." But the question is how to organize this resistance.

The Gallup poll finds 29 per cent

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From Dissent to Opposition

President Johnson's speech at his daughter's secondary school graduation was good in tone, although hedged about with circular reasoning in defense of a course which is getting him and us into ever deeper trouble — and further and further from traditional American principles. While welcoming discussion and dissent, the President referred to our soldiers dying in defense of liberty and declared that debate can only strengthen our determination to continue on the present course. "In a democracy," he added, "the people have to want to do what must be done," which in this case is whatever he and his advisers decide on. His critics will not concede him any monopoly on solicitude for the men who are doing the fighting, nor will they concede that liberty is defended by American policy as Johnson, McNamara, McGeorge Bundy, Rusk, et al., formulate it. Last fall, this body of opinion, *The Nation* included, thought it saw a clear-cut choice. When Mr. Johnson won the election, it thought the extremists had been rejected and that moderation would prevail. Now these former supporters of Mr. Johnson, as well as Europeans of many political persuasions, have been disillusioned. Hence the mounting protests.

Events in Britain have followed much the same course, but with a different result. Harold Wilson and the Labour Party could hardly be worse off politically had they offered forceful opposition to aggressive American policies. The Tories could have done no worse; it is conceivable that they might have done better. Some countries, Norway in particular, are prepared to go much further in action against U.S. policies, if Britain would furnish the lead. As it is, they are disenchanted with British and American policies alike.

This partial paralysis will continue until some real opposition develops in the United States. Opposition is dissent in action, and Mr. Johnson may not be as tolerant of it as he is of dissent. But he will not be able to disregard it, nor to praise it in principle while disregarding it in practice. Opposition would muster votes, and votes are what interest every politician, high and low. Unless the misgivings of the intellectuals spread to intelligent Americans who are normally concerned with politics only at election time, the anti-Administration voting potential will not be realized.

In *The Christian Science Monitor* (May 1) Richard L. Strout assays Mr. Johnson's "driving style, secrecy, exclusiveness and personal domination" and comments on the limited opposition he has aroused. Congress is the traditional counterweight to the President and its countervailing influence normally centers in the opposing party; but, as things stand, the 140 Republican members of the House have almost no bargaining power. In the name of opposition to communism, the Administration can do almost anything without being called to account in debate on the floor. For the most part, the Republicans out-Johnson Johnson. Some GOP leaders have been calling for a full blockade of Cuba. With the exception of a few papers like *The New York Times* and the New York *Herald Tribune* (notably Beverly Deepe's articles on Vietnam), there has been little opposition in the press.

This dead-center situation is not apt to last. Mr. Johnson may find a way to extricate himself from the Dominican mix-up, but in Vietnam the odds against him are unlikely to improve. Aside from the instability of the South Vietnamese government, the country is so far gone in the Vietcong direction that only more and more massive injections of U.S. military power can avail—if anything can. As the U.S. commitment expands and the casualties mount, dissent will have the opportunity to transform itself into opposition. But on one condition: that unremitting effort be continued.

Dollar Wise, Pound Foolish

Washington

As the Johnson Administration moves to "police the world," it is simultaneously turning its scientific back on world medical research. At the recent Geneva World Health Assembly (WHO) the United States declined to support the proposal of Secretary-General Candau for the establishment of a vast international research center. Simultaneously, the Administration announced cuts in its National Institutes of Health (NIH) overseas research program, citing the dollar balance-of-payments deficit as its reason.

All over Europe physicians and scientists have criticized both developments. Eighty-two Italian investigators sent the editors of *Science* a copy of a letter they had written President Johnson, fulsomely thanking the U.S. for past aid to Italian medical research, but adding: "We hope that the policy of supporting our efforts will not be discontinued by the United States, even though a reduction may be necessary. A very significant benefit has accrued as a result of your support, and that is the close cooperation between scientists of our two countries, a cooperation we consider very useful to both."

This was among the mildest of the rebukes. Said a distinguished French microbiologist: "The action of the U.S. Government, both in withholding support for WHO and in reducing NIH funds for overseas research, clearly indicates that the Americans are entering a phase of scientific isolationism." Or even more acridly from a clinical professor of medicine in Lon-

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don: "I respectfully suggest that you withdraw the passports of a few oil millionaires and their wives for a year. Their purchases of castles, *objets d'art* and Paris gowns deprive the U.S. of several times more dollars than NIH spends here."

Some $57 million has been spent abroad in the past five years by NIH from its $6 billion appropriations for medical research. "We have had the pick of the world's scientific crop," says Dr. Charles Williams, head of NIH's Office of International Research. "In our opinion the results in both basic and clinical findings are an amazing return on a very modest budget."

Dr. Williams' opinion fell on deaf Budget Bureau ears. The latest proposals to Congress cut NIH appropriations for overseas spending to $13.3 million for fiscal 1966, beginning July 1, 1965. This continues the decline from the high of $15.5 million appropriated for fiscal 1963.

"These international efforts are an important factor in generating new medical knowledge," declares a report of the House committee that reviewed the Administration's proposed cuts. The committee is headed by Rep. John Fogarty (D., R.I.), one of Capitol Hill's leading advocates of federally sponsored research in health and medicine. His committee urged that the overseas research projects should be strengthened rather than "phased out."

"They should not be endangered by arbitrary reduction for the purpose of making what, at most, can be an extremely minor contribution to the solution of the U.S. balance-of-payments problem," the report says.

The House has not yet acted. Nor has the Senate, where hearings before Sen. Lister Hill (D., Ala.), another proponent of international medical research, are now drawing to a close. Witnesses drawn from a cross section of the American scientific community firmly opposed the cuts. In vain have observers listened for an indication of Senator Hill's position.

Whatever the outcome, scientists abroad have already been inoculated with suspicion as to our future intentions. They generally agree that the chances for cooperative international medical research are nil, at least under President Johnson's leadership.

The Junk-Car Plague

Detroit is happy. In 1965, it expects to sell 8.5 million cars; another 0.5 million will be imported. The year 1966 may not be quite so euphoric but it won't be half bad: sales of new American cars should run to about 8 million. For 1970, Chrysler forecasts a norm of 10 million new car sales a year. Compare that with an average of 5.8 million between 1955 and 1962.

The auto industry naturally hopes that the boom which started in 1962 will continue. So do the industries largely dependent on autos—rubber, plate glass, radios. Booms are lovely but they bring troubles in their train—the baby boom set school taxes soaring, while the auto boom is piling up mountains of junk metal, as anyone can see who looks around America (so-called the Beautiful). President Johnson complains that the rusting scrap heaps that "litter our countryside . . . are driving my wife mad." The Johnsons are not alone in their agony; in fact, where they live, and the way they travel, they are less exposed to America the Hideous than most of us.

In the *Congressional Record* (May 24) Sen. Paul Douglas tells what happened. Cars last about ten years, passing through several hands in decreasing levels of opulence, and finally going to the junk yard. Current scrappage is close to 6 million cars a year. Formerly the death of a car was an orderly economic process. The last owner could expect to be paid $40 or $50 for his dying jalopy. The wreckers would strip it of usable parts, and the scrap processor would take what was left. He would burn out the upholstery and crunch the remainder into a compact steel cube about the size of a TV console and weighing roughly a ton, for which a steel mill would pay approximately $40. Steel was made from ore and scrap, about half-and-half in an open-hearth furnace, and the mills consumed about 40 million tons of scrap a year.

This reconversion declined with the trend to oxygen converters in steel making. The proportion of scrap in a converter is only about 25 per cent and contaminants can have very undesirable results. A ton of scrap is now worth only about $18, and in some parts of the country has dropped as low as $12. It costs the average processor $12 to $14 a ton to bale cars, and transportation to the mill may add another $4 to $8. Obviously, unless another market can be found for scrap, vast numbers of autos are not going to get processed.

Many old cars are abandoned on city streets by owners who would have to pay to dispose of them. In Chicago 22,000 cars were abandoned in 1963. In rural sections some owners simply run their cars off the road and drive away with a friend. But cars which are disposed of legally do not disappear either. There are now 30 to 40 million shells rusting in junk yards. They rust slowly, so the pile grows.

Senator Douglas proposes to levy a 2 per cent excise tax on all new cars sold, to go into a "burial and beautification" fund. In this way, when a person buys a car he will pay in advance for its ultimate disposal. Senator Douglas' bill (S. 2019) would accumulate about $400 million a year. Of course nowadays anything under a billion is unimpressive, but a great deal can still be done with $400 million.

A part of it might be spent on finding new uses for scrap steel. It is not inherently worthless. During a big shooting war the country salvages all the steel it can find. In peacetime, or what passes for peace, we feel we can afford to be wasteful. But when waste also threatens to make the country a shambles, action is called for. Senator Douglas' proposal is right in principle, at least, and it needs support now, before the excise tax is reduced, or eliminated altogether (see page 643).

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A Voice for the Poor

Whether, under the present dispensation, American poverty in the midst of American affluence can be significantly reduced remains to be seen. The nation may turn instead to still larger expenditures for war—the primrose path of statesmanship. One thing, however, is plain: the poor cannot be lifted up single-handedly by the well to do; they must play a part in their own rehabilitation. The poor know poverty from the inside; it is, so to speak, their specialty. Hence the importance of recent developments on the Philadelphia front of the war on poverty. That it happened in Philadelphia is chance; the problem is nation-wide and other cities will have to learn from the Philadelphia experience, and from one another.

Philadelphia has twelve so-called poverty districts, with a population of 500,000 of voting age. Using city voting machines, an election was held to choose 144 persons from 354 candidates who had been certified as being poor—twelve from each district. This group in turn is to select one person to represent each district on the city-wide anti-poverty governing board. Only the candidates were certified as poor; residents of the districts generally were permitted to vote. The city-wide committee will also include nineteen persons designated by the mayor.

The relatively low turn-out — less than 13,000 or about 2.5 per cent of those eligible to vote—is being cited as an argument against the election process by those who seek to discredit a key provision of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, namely, that there shall be the "maximum feasible participation" by those whom the program is intended to help. But various explanations have been advanced to explain the disappointing response. The poor know they are poor but they don't like to parade the fact. Also, illiterates were, theoretically at least, not qualified to vote. In fact, literacy tests were not given, but no doubt some voters stayed away because it had been announced that literacy was a requirement. This was merely a convenience. In some districts there were as many as forty-seven candidates and it seemed unnecessarily time consuming to read this list to voters who were illiterate. Arthur Mohr, regional manager of the American Arbitration Association, which supervised the election, said in a telephone interview with Eve Edstrom of *The Washington Post*: "These people are proud and don't want to be embarrassed. I even saw an elderly man carry a large book into a polling place to give the impression that he could read. But he couldn't." All things considered, it was impressive that, in such a novel experiment, as many as 13,000 participated.

Better expedients will no doubt be devised to meet the requirement of "maximum feasible participation." The real question is not whether the poor should vote but whether they should have a voice in a program designed for their benefit. No one suggests that the poor should administer the program or control the funds. What is needed—and what is sought—is some means by which the poor can express a perspective on the program and an evaluation of what is being done under it. This they can do better than others, nor need they be literate to do it. Unlike politicians, the poor are not concerned with their "image" or, like social workers, with their careers. But they do know how to appraise services designed for their benefit. There is nothing novel about the notion that the beneficiaries of a federal program should be consulted about it. If the poor were called "farmers" or "miners" or "shippers," no questions would be raised. It is time we discarded the concept we have of the poor as outcasts, dropouts and misfits, and began to think of them as a new leisure class spawned by an affluent society.

The Kennedy Amendment

Prospects for early enactment of the voting law are excellent. The Senate invoked cloture (70-30) and then proceeded to pass the bill by an impressive margin (77-19). Sentiment for the law is equally strong in the House, and that body is expected to adopt Sen. Edward Kennedy's proposed amendment, barring the poll tax in local and state elections, which came within four votes of being adopted in the Senate. The Senate version now contains a simple declaration to the effect that, on a finding that the poll tax has been used to keep Negroes from voting, the Attorney General should take action to have it declared unconstitutional in the states where it is still retained in local and state elections (Virginia, Texas, Alabama and Mississippi). While a question has been raised as to the constitutionality of the Kennedy Amendment, the argument against it is essentially tactical. If the House adopts it, the bill will go to conference and Senator Eastland, as chairman of the Judiciary Committee, would probably name the Democratic conferees. The bill might emerge from conference, therefore, without the Kennedy Amendment and weakened in other respects as well. But on balance it is worth while to run this risk and incur the delay. Sentiment in both houses is overwhelmingly in support of the bill, which is high on the Administration's list of "must" items. In other words, it is not a question of "going for broke" but of pressing hard for the strongest possible voting bill.

Tactics aside, a strong case can be made for the Kennedy Amendment. The poll tax is an anachronism. It has been rejected in principle through adoption of the Twenty-Fourth Amendment which forbids it in federal elections. It is a burden on the poor of all races and backgrounds; it probably is as much of a burden on so-called "poor whites" as it is on Negroes and, in Texas, it is more of a burden on Mexican-Americans than on either "poor whites" or Negroes. A hateful symbol, it is also a real barrier to the exercise of the franchise; Sen. Ralph Yarborough has called it "a poisonous snake across the path to the voting booth." There is little doubt that repeal of the poll tax does bring out a larger vote. In Virginia the vote in

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American Policy and Japanese Opinion

Soon after the onset of the United States attack upon North Vietnam, a group of ninety-three Japanese professors, university presidents, writers and critics (notable among them being Tetsuzo Tanikawa, President of Hosei University, and the novelist Jiro Osaragi) addressed the appeal which is quoted below to Prime Minister Eisaku Sato. Despite its considerable length, the statement was carried in full by Asahi *and* Mainichi, *two of Japan's national newspapers. A parallel indication of Japan's alarm at the crisis deepening on the Asiatic mainland is to be seen in a recent public-opinion poll. To the question: "What do you think is the first step to be taken in order to terminate the war in Vietnam?" 40 per cent answered "withdrawal of U.S. troops" and 46 per cent answered "opening of international negotiations." The statement of the Japanese intellectuals follows:*

The devastation and the danger brought about by the war in Vietnam are being aggravated day by day. Not only is this war causing unsurpassable misery to the people of Vietnam, but it is also constituting a great menace to peace in Asia and to the security of Japan. . . .

Therefore, we strongly urge our Government to make a prompt decision according to the three proposals we present below, and to declare its intention to the Japanese people and to other nations.

(1) If the United States should persist in her present policy, there is an imminent danger of armed conflicts ensuing between the United States and the People's Republic of China, regardless of the calculated design of the Government of the United States. Furthermore, there is a natural fear for the tension being heightened at the 38th Parallel in Korea, between South Korea, who has sent troops to South Vietnam, on the one hand, and North Korea, who has pledged military support to the National Liberation Front (Vietcong), on the other. It is past any dispute that our involvement in these armed conflicts resulting from the military operations of the United States will be absolutely incompatible with the security of Japan.

It is true that Japan is bound by the Security Treaty to collaborate with the United States. Nevertheless, Article I of this Treaty holds that, in accordance with the provision of the United Nations Charter, international disputes shall be settled by peaceful means, and the parties to the Treaty shall refrain from "the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state." We believe that the present use of force by the United States in Vietnam is in violation of these provisions. It is evidently in line with the general rule of international law that in such a case Japan is not necessarily bound by the above mentioned duty of collaboration. This point is clearly illustrated by the position of the United States who, at the time of the Suez crisis, opposed the military actions undertaken by Britain and France, in spite of the fact that the United States was in alliance with these two nations.

Accordingly, we appeal to the Japanese Government to manifest its position immediately to its own people and to other nations that if the war in Vietnam should escalate into a war on a larger scale involving additional countries, Japan would refuse to let the United States bases in Japan be used for the purpose of military combat operations. . . .

(2) The direct cause of such expansion of the war in Vietnam is the air attacks by the United States on North Vietnam. . . .

Though there may be a certain degree of aid given by North Vietnam to the National Liberation Front, even the figures given by the United States Government in the "White Paper on Vietnam" show clearly that the military assistance from the North is very modest in terms of military force. Looking back on the whole process of the war in Vietnam, we are persuaded that the aid from the North has been more of a counterbalance to the enormous amount of military aid offered by the United States to the South Vietnamese Government. . . .

For these two reasons, we urge the Japanese Government to appeal to the United States for immediate suspension of the air attacks on the North.

(3) At present, in South Vietnam, a gruesome war is going on, side by side with the air attacks on the North. We cannot refrain from expressing our profound indignation against the recent use by the United States forces of napalm bombs, poisonous gases and other atrocious weapons, and especially against the bringing of tactical nuclear weapons into South Vietnam. . . .

In view of what has been stated above, the war in South Vietnam conducted by the United States cannot escape being called an inexcusable disregard of human dignity and the right of national self-determination. In order that South Vietnam should emerge out of its present condition of misery and despair, diplomatic negotiations should be opened without delay to terminate the war. In this respect, we welcome President Johnson's statement, made in response to the proposal by the seventeen nonaligned nations, to the effect that the United States "remains ready for unconditional discussions." This kind of diplomatic discussions, however, must be accompanied by an unconditional cease-fire, so that there can be no room for continued military operations with the aim of gaining a favorable position for negotiation. . . .

We fervently hope that the Japanese Government, in full realization of the points cited above, will send urgent appeals to the United States and other nations concerned to open diplomatic negotiations at once, to which the National Liberation Front should be a party, and to effect an immediate cease-fire, so that there will be the earliest possible restoration of peace in Vietnam.

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the Presidential election of 1964, after ratification of the Twenty-Fourth Amendment, showed an increase of 270,000 over the vote in 1960. On the level of practical politics, the poll tax is probably more significant in local and state than in federal elections. It has been largely responsible for keeping the "courthouse gangs" in power, and it has long been a main prop to the power of the Byrd machine in Virginia. These local baronies have always been the real strongholds of the Southern Bourbons. The major civil rights organizations are therefore correct in their insistence that a concerted effort should be made to put the Kennedy Amendment in the voting bill that Congress is certain to pass.

Pour le Sport

It may be a sour thing to say, but it seems nowadays that there is nothing so unsportsmanlike as sport. Also, though sport unquestionably has its place in the human comedy, it is getting too much attention in some quarters, perhaps not enough in others. In this case a deficiency is better than an excess; many people, taxi drivers for instance, are absolutely besotted by racing, baseball and boxing, and often manage to be badly informed about all three. The passenger who has the bad luck to pick a talkative driver cannot hope to correct all his errors even on a $4 trip, and is reduced to morose silence. (Of course the passenger may not be an authority either.)

Accusations of cheating and corruption range all the way from contract bridge to boxing. In the former, accusations of cheating are the usual thing at the big tournaments. There may be actual cheating, but the accusations transcend whatever occurs. As one commentator puts it: "Hostility is one of the more common emotions at all levels of bridge." In the latest furor, during the world championship at Buenos Aires, the British team of Terence Reese and Boris Shapiro were accused of using finger signals to apprise each other of the cards they held. The charges are now being investigated by the British Bridge Association and, if found true, will have catastrophic results. "They would be finished forever in a social sense," declares one commentator, himself a Briton.

An even more agonizing international scandal has blown up over the Clay-Liston fight, if it can be called that. In boxing, unlike bridge, the monetary stakes are large, and the sport has been hailed as the surest way for a poor but athletic boy to rise to fame and fortune. (It is also the surest way for a poor and not sufficiently athletic boy to lose his health, or even his life.) Both Clay — or, as he prefers to be called, Muhammad Ali — and Liston have made the grade, but if anyone expected them to make it in the way of John L. Sullivan or Stanley Ketchel he was woefully disappointed. Whether Liston went down under a blow that would not have felled a bridge player, or lay down to get his $550,000 as soon as possible, will always be a matter of dispute, but that the fans felt cheated is a certainty. The question is, should anything be done about it, and if so, why?

The Hon. L. Mendel Rivers (D., S.C.) feels strongly that a national question is involved. He has introduced the latest of a succession of bills calling for the appointment of a national boxing commissioner who will, of course, be referred to as a czar. "The American people," declares the Hon. Mr. Rivers, "are asking one thing: What are you fellows in Congress going to do to protect us against such as that which happened the other night?" If it will not shock Mr. Rivers and the American people too much it may be pointed out that the remedy is in their hands. The citizens of Lewiston, Me., showed the way. Three thousand attended the event in the hockey arena; the rest sensibly stayed away. On pay television some 515,000 shelled out. Texas Guinan said, "Never give a sucker an even break." He doesn't need a czar; he needs a new brain.

HUAC in Chicago

'THIS IS NOT A COURT' . . . .

Raymond R. Coffey

Chicago

At one supposedly critical juncture in the House Un-American Activities Committee's recent hearings here, Rep. Joe R. Pool (D., Tex.) broke in to declare that the record should show the clock read precisely "6:17." After a wondrously long and thoughtful pause, Chairman Edwin E. Willis (D., La.) added firmly, "P.M." The spectators laughed. It wasn't really funny, but laughs were hard to come by. It might take two HUAC members to tell time, but it still takes only one of their agents and no discernible evidence to publicly call someone a Communist. However, if the hearings, held May 25-27, were short on entertainment, they did constitute an unforgettable demonstration of the tactics and purposes of the committee which President Truman once called the most un-American thing in America.

The performance began even before the five-man subcommittee hit town. Committee rules prohibit the release of witnesses' names before they are sworn in, but nearly two weeks in advance of the hearings, the names of those subpoenaed were published in *Chicago's American*.

After arriving here, Willis insisted that no member of the committee, none of its employees and none of the process servers had disclosed the names. "I don't know how these things leak out," he said.

Raymond R. Coffey is a reporter on the Chicago Daily News.

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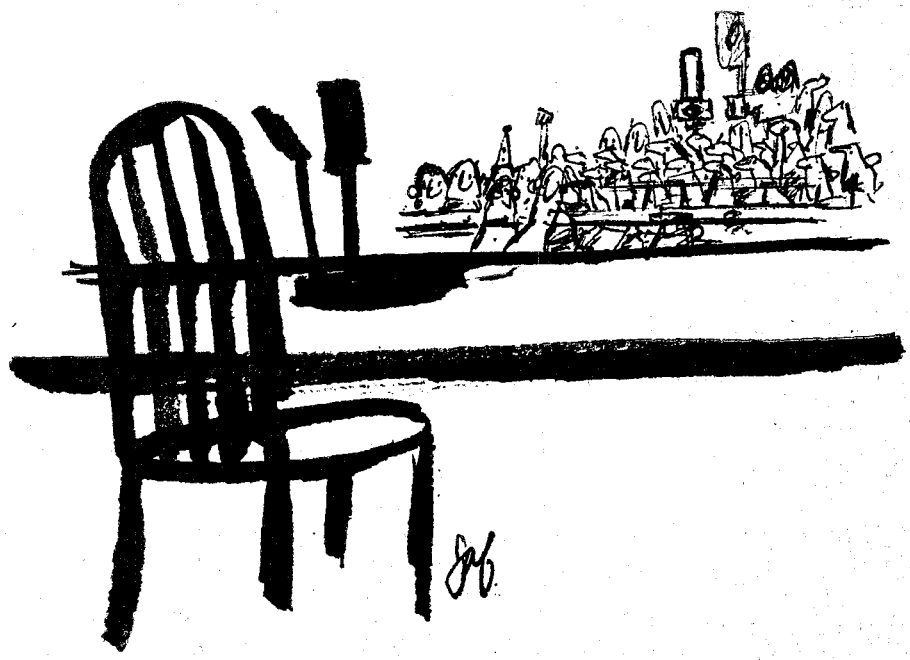
Since most of the subpoenas had been turned over to the Chicago Police Department's "Red Squad" for delivery, hardly anyone else shared Willis' bewilderment.

The most prominent name on the list was that of Dr. Jeremiah Stamler, 45, a renowned heart-disease researcher with the Chicago Health Department who, on the very day that his name popped up in the *American,* was also named winner of the Albert Lasker Award for medical journalism. Stamler's assistant, Mrs. Yolanda Hall, a research nutritionist, was also on the list and they clearly were the committee's principal targets. As a kind of added attraction, however, Mrs. Stamler's name was dropped into the hearing testimony, though she was not called as a witness and given what the committee considers an opportunity to defend herself.

The ten other persons on the original subpoena list were promptly identified as Communists by Lola Belle Holmes, who said she had been an FBI undercover agent in the Communist Party from 1957 to 1963. Lucius Armstrong, 65, another undercover agent, and like Miss Holmes and several of those subpoenaed, a Negro, then proceeded to back up her charges against six of the ten.

But neither of them so much as mentioned Stamler, his wife or Mrs. Hall. That was left to the committee counsel, Alfred Nittle. And he did it not on the basis of evidence or testimony under oath or even in the form of a direct statement. He did it in the form of questions—questions, furthermore, to other witnesses who had already pleaded the Fifth Amendment and other constitutional protections scores of times.

The Nittle tactic was best illustrated in his interrogation of Mrs. Laura Blough, 34, of San Francisco, a surprise witness on Thursday afternoon, May 27, the final day of the hearings. Mrs. Blough had already invoked the Fifth Amendment many times when Nittle began: "It is the information of the committee that you were contacted by Dr. Stamler and advised by him that you were one of the persons chosen to give up your identity and move to other areas in case Communist leaders were put away." From there he went on to ask if



Mrs. Blough was "aware that Dr. Stamler was one of those in charge of setting up the Communist underground" in the early 1950s.

Subsequently, Armstrong was recalled briefly and asked if he had ever heard Stamler's name mentioned at a Communist Party meeting. Readily and patly he responded that he was present at a meeting in 1959, at which Claude Lightfoot, then Illinois party leader, named Stamler as a "noted heart specialist . . . who is a loyal party member." Armstrong acknowledged that he did not himself know Stamler at the time.

This obviously was hearsay that would be inadmissible in any court, but it was good enough for the committee. It was also better than the committee could do on either Mrs. Hall or Mrs. Stamler. To this minute they stand accused by no one other than Nittle, and in no form other than questions. Thus Mrs. Hall came into the proceedings when Nittle asked David Englestein, another witness who had already pleaded the Fifth Amendment numerous times, if he had known Mrs. Hall while he was an instructor at an allegedly Communist school.

Mrs. Stamler's name was dragged in when Nittle told another witness, Mrs. Leon Joy Jennings, that the committee had information that she attended Communist meetings in Stamler's home in 1956 and 1957. "Is it a fact that Rose Stamler, wife of Dr. Stamler, acted as chairman of some of" those meetings? Nittle asked. So much for Mrs. Stamler's good name.

As Albert E. Jenner, Jr., attorney for Stamler and Mrs. Hall put it, the evidence against his clients consisted only of the "unverified assertions" of Nittle and the "coached and uncorroborated testimony" of Armstrong, a paid informer who conceded that he did not know Stamler. "Up to this minute," he said, "there is not one scintilla of evidence admissible or competent" before any court or committee.

All the witnesses had counsel, but the case against the committee was perhaps best put by Jenner and his partner, Thomas P. Sullivan, and by Irving G. Steinberg who had been retained by two of the other witnesses.

Sullivan had already been forcibly shoved into his chair once by U.S. marshals acting on Representative Pool's orders when he rose again in behalf of Mrs. Hall to charge that Nittle knew "in advance" that the witness being questioned would take the Fifth Amendment. Thus there "can be no purpose in a question like that except to embarrass and defame my client."

He was answered by being pushed once more into his chair on Pool's orders, a treatment that was only slightly more brusque than that accorded all the attorneys. "I demand to be treated as a decent citizen," Sullivan said, forlornly and vainly. When he was able to get to his feet again he noted that the only legitimate purpose of a Congres-

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sional investigation is to acquire information that can be useful in the lawmaking process.

But, he said, since the committee had already interviewed Miss Holmes and Armstrong in executive session, it already had the information it was airing here. Hence, he added, the only possible purpose of the hearings was to damage and defame the witnesses by public exposure.

Steinberg assailed the committee for violating the right of a person to confront his accuser and to cross-examine. It is a basic tenet of Anglo-American law, he said, that the testimony of informers is to be doubted and "can only be strengthened by cross-examination."

Steinberg raised another significant issue when he noted that much of the testimony related to events that were said to have occurred in the 1930s and 1940s. In a recent case involving the Subversive Activities Control Board and the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, Steinberg reminded the hearing, the U.S. Supreme Court criticized the "staleness of testimony" and sent the matter back to a lower court for up-to-date evidence.

Jenner, a prominent Republican who served on the Warren Commission and, by appointment of President Truman, on the U.S. Loyalty Review Board in the early 1950s, charged that the roughshod treatment of Sullivan amounted to attempted intimidation that deprived their clients of the right to adequate counsel. He said that despite the nature of the evidence and the treatment accorded witnesses, "a large segment of the public" would believe the allegations made by Nittle and the informer witnesses, thereby unfairly damaging his clients.

The committee was unmoved. It rejected every objection made during the entire three days, taking the position that the hearings afforded the witnesses "excellent opportunity" to deny the content of the questions Nittle asked. Willis did not seem to comprehend the hilarity he evoked among some of the spectators every time he overruled an attorney's objections with the remark that "this is not a court."

Ten of the thirteen witnesses invoked the Fifth Amendment. Stamler, Mrs. Hall and Milton Cohen, on advice of their attorneys, refused even to listen to the questions and walked out after making brief statements. Stamler and Mrs. Hall declared they had "nothing to hide," were loyal Americans and were acting merely out of "principle and conscience."

Willis accepted Armstrong's hearsay testimony but had only scorn for Stamler and Mrs. Hall. They had "taken a powder," and their declarations were only a "subtle attempt" to avoid taking the Fifth Amendment.

Remarkable as all this was, it was by no means the full story of the committee's visit here. A lot of attention was, of course, paid to the sometimes riotous anti-HUAC demonstrations, which resulted in seventy arrests. But it was little noted that the committee had done a good job of packing the hearing room with its friends. John Birch Society officials had been given passes that assured them of seats without standing in line, and Midwest public relations director Roger Morrison and staff organizer Norman L. Thomas were on hand daily with several of their cohorts. Officials of the right-wing American Security Council had also come in on passes (and thus many anti-committee people were prevented from finding seats in the hearing room).

Miss Holmes and Armstrong made interesting studies. It was difficult to escape the notion that FBI informers make the best Communists. By the account of Miss Holmes, who described herself as a former "darling of the Communist Party" and as a "happy informer," she and Armstrong rose rapidly in the hierarchy. In almost no time both were alternate delegates to the party's 1959 national convention and members of the state committee.

At a couple of points in the proceedings Miss Holmes was rattling off the names of dozens of old comrades so rapidly that even Nittle had to ask her to slow down. Armstrong began by apologizing for his "limited speaking abilities," but was soon off on a rambling and philosophic discourse about "white chauvinism" and other "qualitative developments" in the party. Willis, apparently in a hurry to get on to the naming of more names, cut him off. Almost the only thing Armstrong could not recall was how much he has been paid as an informer. He was asked the question by reporters who had been given a figure in excess of $34,000.

Along with all the names of people, Miss Holmes, Armstrong and Nittle — always Nittle — also managed to drop into the testimony such organizations as the NAACP, CORE, Women for Peace, Voters for Peace, The Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and the Independent Voters of Illinois.

This was no more convincing, though, than the rest of the goings on. Miss Holmes said she headed a Communist slate of candidates out to take over the Chicago NAACP, but admitted that she and her fellow candidates were defeated. Since she was an informer at the time, it wasn't even clear whether the Communists or the FBI would have taken over had she won.

Some of the other evidence was as ridiculous. One witness, Louis Diskin, was asked if he was not the man named in an old Chicago *Tribune* story headlined: "Pro-Red Literature Confiscated at Dance." He had to remind Nittle: "Sir, I am sure you must be aware that I am not responsible for what the Chicago *Tribune* prints."

When it was all over, Willis declared that the hearings had been "useful," though he acknowledged in an interview that "I can't hardly say now" what legislative results the committee might produce.

It is possible, however, that the hearings may prove to be useful in a way Willis never contemplated. On behalf of Stamler and Mrs. Hall, both of whom the committee plans to have cited for contempt of Congress, Jenner and Sullivan have filed a suit challenging the very existence of the committee. The suit contends that the act of Congress, incorporated into the committee's rules and outlining its authority, is so broad and vague as to violate freedom of speech and other rights guaranteed under the First, Fifth, Ninth and Tenth Amendments.

A legitimate Congressional investigating committee, Sullivan said in an interview, "must have a real purpose of discovery and of determining facts to aid in the legislative process." HUAC, he said, "is simply exposing in public people they don't

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like or with whose views they don't agree" and who may or may not be Communists.

Specifically, the suit charges that the committee assault on Stamler and Mrs. Hall was precipitated by persons opposed to Mrs. Hall's support of open occupancy for Negroes in her Chicago neighborhood. In a newspaper article appended to the suit, Robert Bacigalupo, a spokesman for the United Property Group, is quoted to the effect that he has brought Mrs. Hall's activities to the attention of "the authorities." Jenner says he will take the case to the Supreme Court.

But if Willis was wrong about how the hearings might be useful, it was not his only miscalculation. On opening day he read a statement insisting that Chicago should consider the hearings a "tribute, a recognition of the tremendous importance the enemies of this country" attach to Illinois and Chicago.

The Louisiana syrup coating his words was not very persuasive. By the time the committee got out of town it had been roundly attacked in editorials by the Chicago *Daily News*, the *Sun-Times* and the C.B.S.-owned television station here, none of which can be described as ardently liberal. All three decried the riotous demonstrations against the committee but held little brief for the committee, which the TV station said has "made no great shakes of a record of ferreting out Communist subversives. . . ."

The committee "often has demonstrated," the *Sun-Times* said, "that it does not distinguish between liberal viewpoints and subversive ones." It also should be noted, the paper continued, that while the hearings here were public, the Southern-dominated committee "intends to pursue its upcoming investigation of Ku Klux Klan members in closed meetings."

The *Daily News* described the hearings as a "disgrace from start to finish and from hearing room to picket line." The paper noted that much of the opposition to HUAC comes from the extreme Left and Communists. But, it added, "opposition also arises from anti-Communists fearful that this committee is riding roughshod over the basic civil rights of the people called before it.

"The Chicago appearance enhanced those fears."

Indonesia: Pride & Politics . . . . Donald Hindley

Indonesia is by far the most important country of Southeast Asia, dwarfing Vietnam into insignificance. With almost 110 million inhabitants, it is the fifth most populous state in the world and the most populous of all Moslem states. Its 3,000 inhabited islands, strung along some 3,000 miles of the equator, occupy a strategic location: in the west, Sumatra intrudes into the Indian Ocean on one side and flanks the Strait of Malacca on the other; in the north, Kalimantan (Indonesian Borneo) shares a long boundary with Sarawak and Sabah, and approaches the Philippines; in the east, West Irian divides a large island with Papua-New Guinea, and to the southeast, the Lesser Sunda Islands reach to within 200 miles of Australia. These islands produce massive supplies of tin, natural rubber, tobacco, copra and oil. It is readily apparent that with such population, resources and location, Indonesia may be or may become a major barrier to Chinese control of the region.

Indonesia is little known in the West, but what is known of its domestic politics and policies is often condemned: President Sukarno's creation and manipulation of Guided Democracy, the continued growth and apparent influence of the PKI, the world's third largest Communist party (claiming more than 3 million members), the construction of giant but unproductive monuments, and the continuous downward spiral of the economy in a morass of inflation, state management and decaying production. Even more severely criticized are Indonesia's foreign relations: militant acts to wrest West Irian from the Dutch, confrontation with Malaysia, political discrimination in the 1962 Asian Games, irascible departure from the UN, seizure of all foreign enterprises, eviction of the Peace Corps and rejection of all American aid, destructive demonstrations against U.S., British, Indian and other countries' diplomatic and cultural offices, and a noisy denunciation of imperialism and neo-imperialism that is coupled with an approach to China and other Communist Asian states.

An understanding of Indonesia's politics and policies must begin with a definition of those who make the major decisions at the national level. At the apex is President Sukarno, ardent nationalist, superb orator, supreme manipulator, but without his own political party. Closely grouped around him are several individuals and groups that are often in competition. The most important are the PKI and the central army leadership, but many individuals (such as the opportunist First Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister, Subandria) would have to be included in any detailed analysis. This political balance was largely established in 1959, and has been maintained, with certain significant shifts in power, to the present. In that year Sukarno and the central army leadership finally grasped open control of the state.

Instead of a duumvirate, however, Sukarno could obtain a multifaceted system because the army leadership was deeply divided on a whole range of issues, including personal feuds and jealousies, professional and regional antagonisms and political orientation. He has continued to play army individuals and factions against one another, but at the same time has provided the military with sufficient material and status rewards to assure their basic loyalty. Against the army, Sukarno has balanced civilian groups, of which the PKI is the most favored because it displays the revolutionary fervor so admired by the President and is the only party with mass and disciplined support. In short, Sukarno has, since 1959, destroyed those groups (notably the

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Masjumi and Socialist parties) which openly opposed him, and kept the other possible contenders for his position divided, balanced and largely domesticated.

Since he has no party, Sukarno must obtain allies, such as the army leadership and the PKI, and is unable to make major policy decisions without reference to others. Beyond the inner elite, the President has sought to involve the general population in political activity to his and the inner elite's benefit. He has created a multitude of councils, from parliament and city councils to works councils and land-reform committees, to which he appoints representatives of the ten legal political parties and all important "functional groups" that are willing publicly to accept his leadership. These councils are not merely a cloak, a legitimation for dictatorship. They provide a sense of participation in government decisions, they help to implement such decisions, they are sources of status and of material advantage, and they permit an airing, albeit controlled, of aspirations and grievances. In other words, the open opponents of Sukarno are suppressed, though rarely with brutality or vindictiveness, while the majority of organized political, social, economic, cultural and religious groups are tied into so-called Guided Democracy.

Although Guided Democracy is essentially a device to strengthen and perpetuate power in the hands of the ruling group, its public justification appeals to many Indonesians. "Free-fight liberalism" of the 1945-57 period is denounced for having brought party bickering, governmental immobilization, corrupt opportunism, economic stagnation and civil war. Guided Democracy is explained as a return to traditional Indonesian values: *musjawarah* (open discussion), *mufakat* (consensus) and leadership (as given, for example, by the paternal village chiefs). More than a mere return to revered values, Guided Democracy is also presented as the means to progress. Given the unity and discipline of Guided Democracy, Indonesia will be able to win full independence from imperialist and neo-colonialist machinations, to build "socialism à la Indonesia," and to reassert its own identity.

The goal of full independence has an obvious general appeal, and is linked with the search for a national identity (involving such apparent absurdities as the banning of hula hoops and the cha-cha-cha). As a former colonized people, the Indonesians feel the need to establish themselves individually, and their country collectively, as dignified entities, not mere reflections or kaleidoscopes of foreign components. Large national monuments, lavish international conferences and sports meets, and dramatic foreign-policy gestures confirm the new importance, individuality and full autonomy of a people subjected for 300 years to the rule of a minor European power.

But why are the Indonesians committed to a Socialist economy? There has been almost no Indonesian entrepreneurial middle class; the Chinese and Europeans filled that role, and experience with private enterprise was experience with foreign exploitation. In the villages, in the life of Indonesia's extended families and in the minds of the educated elite, cooperative endeavor has a hallowed, if not always practiced, place. State control is deemed essential if the capital-scarce, skill-scarce economy is to be lifted into self-sustained growth. Furthermore, state control of the economy enlarges the opportunities for the Indonesian middle class, which is largely bureaucratic, and provides the ruling groups with politically valuable sources of patronage.

Guided Democracy, national unity, Indonesian socialism, unproductive monuments and cultural xenophobia are thus far more than political expedients. The further question is: why does the Indonesian Government refuse to concentrate its strength, energy and wealth on economic development? The answer is to be found at several levels.

The great mass of the population is not yet demanding economic development; it tends to slump gradually into "shared poverty" rather than explode into action. As for the ruling group, economic development would require a severe pruning of the bureaucracy and belt tightening among the middle class and the elite—all steps involving political hazard. Economic development would stimulate regional dissension over the distribution of projects, the more so as the Outer Islands produce the exports that keep Java afloat. It would demand skills which the present political leadership does not have and which are associated to an extent with its opponents. But of major importance in explaining the constant postponement of urgent economic decisions are the immediate political necessities of major elements in the political elite. Sukarno is a manipulator, an orator, apparently incapable of sustained administrative effort. He is most effective when arousing revolutionary nationalist fervor. The army lead-

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ers seem more inclined to favor economic development but are hardly enthusiastic for moves in a direction that would reduce their inflated budget and their positions in the management of state enterprises. The Communists, naturally, are unwilling to assist in major economic improvement while the state is in what they would privately describe as "semi-Fascist, bourgeois" hands.

The militant aggressiveness and anti-Western orientation of Indonesia's foreign policies can be understood only if one looks at the world from the perspective of that country's political leadership. Almost all politically awake Indonesians agree that their country's size, resources, location and population give it the ability and the *right* to control the political direction taken by its much smaller neighbors—and not necessarily for immediate security reasons (this attitude should be understandable to North Americans who have long held a like view of Latin America). Most Indonesians are ambivalent toward the West. The elite is immersed in Western culture through Dutch education, and enjoys the material and cultural products of the West. But dislike and distrust are more deeply inlaid, especially in political contexts. Before the Second World War the Dutch ruthlessly suppressed the emergent nationalist movement, and many of its leaders (including Sukarno) suffered years of imprisonment and exile. After the Japanese occupation, the Dutch attempted for almost four years to reassert control through force and puppet regimes. Although the Dutch departed in 1949, under belated American pressure, they retained control of West Irian. This territory became the object of mounting Indonesian frustration and action, including the seizure of all Dutch enterprises and massive arms purchases from the Soviet Union, until the U.S., again belatedly, intervened in 1962.

The experience of Indonesia leads it to accept concepts of aggressive imperialism and neo-colonialism. The movement of world trade away from raw materials is seen as Western manipulation to the detriment of the poorer states. American aid is readily explained as guilt money, an attempt to gain political leverage, a fractional return of the wealth stolen. Furthermore, from the viewpoint of the present Indonesian leaders, the Americans and British have demonstrated open hostility. This was most marked at the outbreak in 1958 of the rebellion that for a time threatened to overthrow the Jakarta government. Secretary of State Dulles expressed his support for the rebels, the Seventh Fleet entered the Strait of Malacca, Taiwan and South Korea furnished equipment to the rebels, Malaya, the Philippines and the British North Borneo territories were used as rebel supply and air bases, and American pilots flew rebel bombers. Smuggling to the Philippines and the area that was to become Malaysia, connived in by Filipino and British officials, provided the rebels with their main sources of foreign exchange — and deprived Jakarta to the same extent.

The Indonesian leaders have concrete reasons then for distrusting the West. Other factors have elevated this distrust to open hostility and, in the matter of Malaysia, to confrontation. It is useful to disguise the government's economic inadequacies beneath accusations of imperialist plotting, subversion and sabotage. Self-esteem and the evaluation of the government's power are strengthened by the challenge to Western might and the humiliation of Western representatives in Indonesia. A sense of external danger, of imperialist encirclement and of efforts to smash Indonesia, facilitates what must be the fundamental task of any Indonesian government: to weld a common nationality out of the many disparate ethnic and religious groups that comprise the Indonesian population. But still other domestic political necessities propel the leadership to hostility and confrontation.

Sukarno, the orator and manipulator, the man without his own organized support, must find objects of exhortation and must prevent the forces balanced to support him from below from fighting one another—for should they fight, the balance would be ended, whether he took sides or not, and he would be susceptible to control by the victors (in this case, either the PKI or the army leadership). Fervent attacks on foreign enemies and the creation of a sense of national danger enable Sukarno to exploit his platform skills, to hold domestic political competition in abeyance, and to justify firm leadership during a period of grave danger. The army leaders are also well served by international crises and the real, imagined, or perhaps induced external danger. An enormous military budget is justified, as is the presence of large numbers of officers in the government, the bureaucracy and the management of state enterprises. And the Communists are pleased to promote an air of patriotic crisis which identifies them with nationalism, postpones concern with fundamental economic problems, and makes the West anathema to the general population. It must be noted, however, that none of the main elements in the Indonesian political elite wishes to become involved in a serious war. It is the maintenance of a crisis situation that is vital to their interests, no more. But as long as the domestic political situation remains roughly as it is today, the West can have little hope of placating Indonesia or of winning it as a friend.

Jensen: Sunday Telegraph (London)

"It is good for our nation to stand on our own feet."

—Sukarno

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The Post-Industrial Generation

Roots of Student Discontent . . . Mervin B. Freedman

The Byrne Report to the Regents of the University of California renders valuable service to that institution and to higher education in general. It uncovers many of the defects in the structure and government of the university system in the state of California, and contains cogent observations on the students who have been involved in various uprisings at Berkeley during the last year. Among its many statements about students, the following is the most penetrating: "We conclude that the basic cause of unrest on the Berkeley campus was the dissatisfaction of a large number of students with many features of the society they were about to enter."

This pervasive sense of dissatisfaction with American society lies at the root of student discontent, protest and rebellion. The heart of the matter is that students are being educated to fit into a society they reject, at least in considerable part. This temper or mood must be recognized if the sources of unrest on the various campuses are to be understood. Explanations based on local issues alone—large classes at Michigan, rules governing the use of alcohol at Trinity College, women's social regulations and judicial procedures at Stanford, military service at Columbia or Cornell—are incomplete. Similarly, explanations based on traditional politics do not hold water. The social scientists or philosophers who discuss the Free Speech Movement in Berkeley in terms of political disputes and allegiances, after the fashion of the Trotsky-Stalin conflict of the 1930s, are maundering. The Byrne Report stresses that connections between political parties or political figures and the leaders of the Free Speech Movement were remote and tenuous.

The Byrne Report makes a significant start on a very badly needed task—the interpretation of the hopes, dreams and desires of college students to their parents, their teachers and the American public. Much more understanding of students is required, however, if disasters like the turmoil at Berkeley are not to be repeated. I have talked to students at Berkeley who have learned to their dismay that their parents and the friends of their parents still explain the difficulties on that campus as the work of agitators or beatniks. These citizens display no understanding of the college youth of their state, including their own children.

And college administrators and faculty members have hardly begun to appreciate what it is that makes students tick these days. Of course, until recent months, many faculty members and administrators were concerned with matters other than the undergraduate student — research and publications, for example, or expansion of graduate programs. But even when faculty members and administrators do turn their attention to the undergraduate, their descriptions and explanations almost invariably are wide of the mark.

To some extent, the feelings and behavior of students must also be interpreted to the students themselves. Many students are unconscious of, or but dimly perceive, the springs of their restlessness and rebellion. So it is that minor issues may become the focus of major conflict. A protest movement among students resembles an iceberg in respect to what is visible above the surface. Thus students may fall prey to leadership that does not serve them well. Inchoate dissatisfaction may be channeled into irrelevant outbursts. The analogy to psychoanalysis and psychotherapy is apposite here: the better students understand themselves, the freer they are to choose wisely among alternative actions, and the more likely they are to find suitable answers to their questions and suitable solutions to their problems.

Why are our students dissatisfied with so much of American society? Why are they reluctant to fit in? The answer is simple. The Industrial Revolution is ending in the United States; indeed, it may already be over. A new era—that of automation and cybernation—is upon us. And the consequences of the termination of the Industrial Revolution, for the individual and for society, are enormous.

Students are restless and dissatisfied because they recognize—not always consciously — that the education they are receiving is not functional to the world they will be inhabiting in ten or twenty years. Current educational practices and procedures are modeled on the images of men and of work bequeathed to us by the 19th century. Young people, thus, feel cheated by their elders and teachers.

I cannot anticipate all the consequences of the revolution of automation and cybernation. I can, however, discern that students are preparing for a different human and social condition. I quote J. Bronowski, the scientific and moral philosopher, on this point:

> *The key to the action of living things then is this, that it is directed toward that future. They have a way of knowing what is going to happen next. Most of this knowledge is unconscious. We need not be astonished about this foresight, or at any rate we need not find it more astonishing than we find the rest of the world. For plainly it has always been the condition for the survival of living things, individually and in species. Unless they could adapt themselves to the future, and interpret its signals in advance, they were bound to perish.*

Faculty members and college administrators also respond to these evolutionary pressures, but, being older, the forces of conservatism are strong within them. Youth is more responsive. Much unrest and conflict on college campuses may be explained as the attempt by students to bend educational procedures to their will and to influence faculty members and administrators for certain personal and social ends. These goals are fourfold: (1) the restoration of viable communities in colleges and universities and in society at large; (2) the introduction of unity into the intellect and the personality; (3) the

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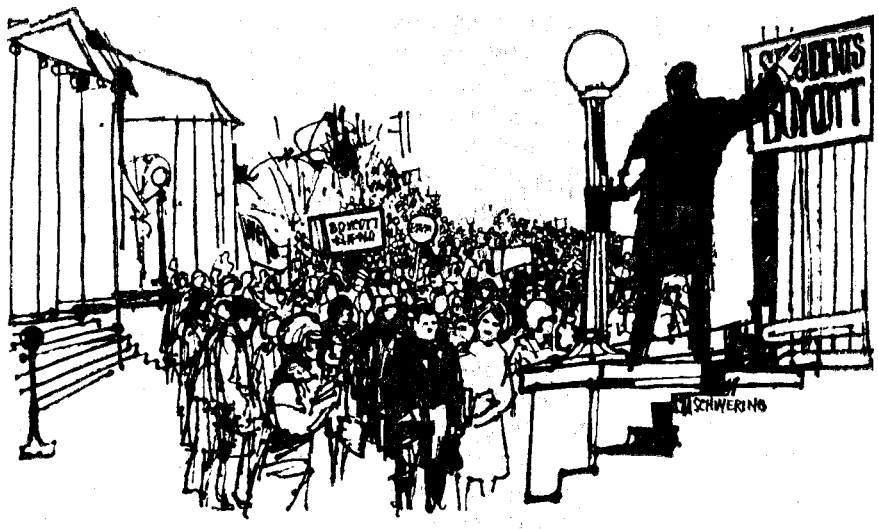
establishment of the ethic of social service as a powerful motive in modern life; (4) the freeing of the impulse life of man—the release of what Henry Murray calls "the erotic imagination."

Students today are rebellious; they want less constraint by authority, and more autonomy. This is particularly true of the leaders of student movements. But rebelliousness and autonomy are by no means all that is involved. Students desire as well more affiliation with the faculty. They are demanding of administrators, and particularly of teachers, that they join with students to establish that "community of scholars" one hears so much about and so seldom sees. Students, I believe, are trying to restore to colleges and universities a sense of community that has somehow been lost on most campuses since World War II. Before the war, students shared certain things. Often these were not academic experiences, but rather fraternity and sorority life, football games, social events and the like which provided a feeling of belonging or participation that is not to be underestimated. Academic culture has made sharp inroads into that area of student life, and intellectual performance has accordingly been elevated—but often at the expense of elements of living which students, being human, find it difficult to do without.

Given the intense competition of contemporary academic life, a student rarely has the opportunity to cooperate with other people in a venture which has meaning for all the participants. Team sports are but lightly regarded by guardians of academic integrity, but they provide the student with one of his few opportunities to work with others toward a common end. Ideology aside, the teach-ins appeal to students because they are a chance to work cooperatively with faculty in an enterprise that cuts across traditional teacher-student relationships and activities. Students are attempting to counter the atmosphere of competitiveness and isolation which has prevailed on most campuses for the last two decades. This motive, of which they are often only vaguely aware, accounts for much behavior that on the surface appears to be simple rebellion.



The need for "adult" leadership, faculty leadership in particular, must not be overlooked. Much has been made of the statement, "you can't trust anyone over 30," which reputedly was one of the slogans of the Free Speech Movement. Yet the leaders of the movement wished to dedicate the steps of Sproul Hall on the Berkeley campus to the late Alexander Meiklejohn, the great civil libertarian, who was over 90 when he died last December. It is safe to say that no rebellion of consequence will occur on a campus on which the faculty displays moral force. At Berkeley, where the faculty in recent months has become actively involved in issues of the university community, potentially explosive issues — the "Filthy Speech Movement," for example, or controversial statements and actions on the part of the Regents of the university—have been, or are being, resolved with a minimum of public discord.

The Industrial Revolution diversified labor and knowledge. As the United States was rapidly industrialized in the decades after the Civil War, colleges became increasingly fragmented. Major fields of specialization, departments and divisions replaced a uniform curriculum and courses which emphasized the synthesis of subject matter. This tendency reached its height in the post-Sputnik era, when young people were urged to specialize in secondary school, or even earlier, so that they might get into the right undergraduate college, which would prepare them for the right graduate or professional school, which in turn would insure them entree to the more important professional or business positions.

College students are becoming increasingly dissatisfied with this atomizing process. They seek breadth and unity in their studies. At many colleges in the last few years the number of undergraduates who major in broadly defined fields—for example, literature, philosophy and history—has been increasing at a considerable rate. To be sure, such students more often than not are women. (There is the problem of sustenance. An undergraduate philosophy major does not readily convert to a job in business or industry.) But the trend holds for men as well. Although Stanford is very strong in engineering and sciences, the department today with the largest number of undergraduate majors is history, and at Stanford men outnumber women by about 2 to 1. I do not mean to imply that what Whitehead calls "expert knowledge in some special direction" will disappear at the undergraduate level. I do believe, however, that by majoring in broadly defined fields students are attempting to introduce a measure of unity or wholeness into their lives.

While it can hardly be said that the desire for material and worldly success has disappeared from the face of American campuses, activities such as the Peace Corps and the Civil Rights Movement demonstrate that an ethic of social service has in recent years assumed more moment in the lives of college students. As the Byrne Report indicates, the plight of the Negro in American life symbolized

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for many students the evil and hypocrisy of American society. The Puritan or Calvinist ethic of hard work and success in competitive struggle is on the wane, and to some extent the ethic of social service, which nourishes the hunger to be part of a community, is replacing it. The ethic of social service is a response as well, I believe, to an era of automation and an economy of affluence. If but little human energy is required to sustain human life in excellent material circumstances, a philosophy of life dominated by the aphorisms of Benjamin Franklin becomes dubious. In all events, it becomes increasingly difficult to make students respond to the traditional rewards of Western industrial society.

The freeing of the impulse life, or the freeing of Eros in Western civilization, has been taking place since the end of World War I. I quote from Henry Murray:

> *It took World War I and the moral revolution of the 1920's to shatter the prohibitions of puritanism and Victorianism and open a wide vent for the eruption of the repressed instincts and emotions: sex chiefly, but also hatred of the dominant powers, plutocracy, mediocracy, and finally Mechos, the cold-blooded dragon of impersonal matter-of-factness and technics, of business, advertising, and upward mobility, of hollow showmen and spurious prestige. . . .*

I wish to make it clear that by Eros I do not mean the sexual expression in its physical manifestations only. And I surely do not mean sexual promiscuity. Although sexual intercourse among engaged couples or among students who are seriously involved with each other is probably increasing at a slow rate, sexual promiscuity, in the sense of relations between students who have made little or no emotional commitment to each other, has probably declined on college campuses in recent years. Those individuals who talk of "proliferating promiscuity" or "the sexual revolution" should ask themselves why it is that college youth marry at an early age. The answer, of course, is that they do not wish to postpone sexual gratification until well into adult life, as Musgrove has pointed out in a perceptive article (*The Nation*, April 26, 1965), and on the other hand are not so insensitive as to indulge freely in sex relations outside the conventional ties of engagement and marriage. More generally on the subject of impulse, college students are increasingly unwilling to accept education as a grim, humorless, competitive affair. They want more zest, more gusto, more life than has been available at most colleges and universities in recent years. They want to mean it when they sing *Gaudeamus Igitur*.

The consequences of these desires and needs of students are enormous. No facet of personal or social life in the United States will be unaffected. I shall dwell briefly on some of the implications for higher education. The grading system and comparable procedures for judging students will be drastically altered. A movement to liberalize grading programs is now under way in American colleges. Antioch, for example, will dispense with grades in the freshman year, and Princeton has made it possible for students to receive pass or fail marks rather than letter grades outside their major fields. Princeton students may now "experiment" with courses and disciplines without fear of penalty by way of a lowered grade point average.

Similarly, students will not be dropped for reason of academic failure—at least not in the first several years of college. The system that will emerge is likely to resemble arrangements at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. After some period of time students will be required to demonstrate an appropriate degree of competence or mastery, but acceptance of the student by a college will mean a commitment to educate him. This commitment dictates retaining him within the confines of the institution, except as it may seem that his education would be better served by his leaving. In rare cases, when the presence of a student appears to threaten the welfare of a college, it may be necessary to expel him, but the present system in most colleges and universities, which really places students on trial, which demands that they measure up to standards under pain of dismissal, will disappear.

Current academic procedures and teaching and learning situations will be drastically altered. Much of the burden of conveying routine information — events of history, vocabulary and grammar of foreign languages, chemical and mathematical formulas and so on— will be assumed by programed instruction. Less faculty time will be devoted to these activities. The development of new knowledge, new ways of looking at things, will receive increasing attention. To such ends, small groups of faculty members, graduate students and undergraduates will work together. In such groups, age and status variations will be minimal, since the task of developing new knowledge, new concepts, new ways of thought will induce an appropriate humility and cooperative spirit among all the participants. Beginning in the autumn of 1965, a large number of seminars will be available to Stanford freshmen. They will be taught by all levels of faculty from teaching assistant to full professor. Each seminar will contain about six freshmen (perhaps fewer in the case of physical sciences) and in some instances an upper division undergraduate. The emphasis in these freshman seminars will be on subject matter and activities that are outside traditional curriculums and courses. A few illustrative titles: "Problems Facing the Contemporary Composer," "Authority in Organizations," "The University as a Social Institution."

Traditional departments and fields of study will assume less and less importance in higher education as time goes by. There will be more emphasis on activities and knowledge that combine and cut across disciplines. Many students will have no major subjects of concentration. The assumption that there is a finite body of information which each student in a field of study must absorb will go by the boards—to some extent because of concern with new ways of thought and with interdisciplinary programs that attempt to synthesize this thought, but also because the explosion of knowledge renders such universal expertise almost impossible. Curriculums suitable to the needs and desires of youth and the world of the future are still in their infancy. In all events, it is certain that traditional major fields of study and courses of specialization are on their way out.

Consider the interest in creativ-

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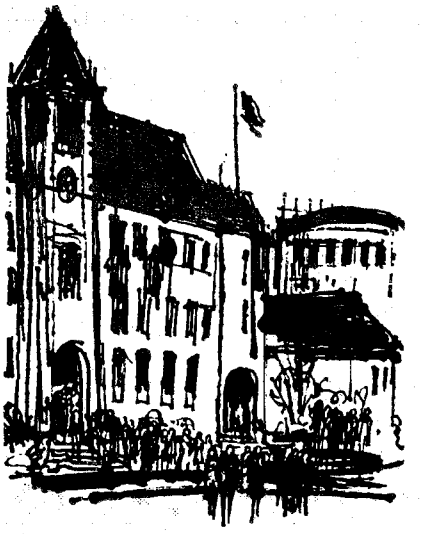
ity among educators and social scientists in recent years. The creative act is the leap of imagination that provides a wholeness which did not previously exist. As Bronowski has pointed out, the creation of unity out of variety is the same in science as in art. Newton's remarkable conjunction of apple and moon is of the same order as Keats's extraordinary association of beauty and truth. No one concerned to devise a curriculum that will foster creative expression is likely to confine his attention to the traditional departments and fields of specialization. The same is true of attempts to promote development of such qualities as independence of judgment, logical thinking or proficiency in communication.

Counseling activities—for example, counseling in the high schools for admission to college—and occupational counseling and guidance in the colleges, will undergo extensive modification of basic conception. By and large such counseling is now designed to make it possible for students to fit into one system or another as smoothly as possible. A high school student is aided in choosing the college in which he is likely to be successful — that is, likely to be graduated with good grades. A student is helped to choose an occupation or profession for which he has the requisite aptitudes and for which he seems to possess the appropriate interests — interests that resemble those of people who are successful in the field. The emphasis on development of new knowledge and the reduction of emphasis on grading and failure will change these patterns. Students will be encouraged to try new things; to go to a college, for example, where they will find colleagues of quite different values or personality; or to take courses which may interest them, even if they seem to have little aptitude or ability for them. Counselors, in short, will advise with an eye to the fullest development of individual personality rather than to the perpetuation of traditional professions and occupations. (See Robert Mathewson, "Manpower or Persons," *The Personnel and Guidance Journal*, December, 1964.)

The concept of self-development as a major goal of life will be a tremendous spur to liberal education in the classic sense. An affluent so-



ciety in which the labor of young people is not needed will mean that they will be allowed longer time before committing themselves to a profession or comparable activity. Young adults will come to resemble the young men of the upper classes in the 19th century who were not expected to do much of anything before they were 30, except travel around and meditate and perhaps sow some wild oats. Basil Ransom in Henry James's *The Bostonians* is a good example of such a young man. Recently, an eminent foundation undertook to support a program wherein a number of students at a prominent men's college will interrupt their education for a year to live and observe—without any specified program or duties—in certain underdeveloped countries.

Some courses of study and corollary professions or occupations will benefit from the kinds of trends I have described—the teaching profession, for one. Others, however, will suffer. Business, industry, medicine and the law are examples. The decline of material reward as a motive for entering occupations and professions and the interest in synthesis of knowledge and interdisciplinary study rather than in specialization will militate against students' adopting such careers. This will be particularly true of the brighter and livelier students. One hopes that major redefinition of these professions and activities will result. And by major redefinition I do not mean superficial alterations of public "image" designed to attract good students.

At least in the professions signs of change may be discerned. Law schools have traditionally attracted the more conservative and conventional students. The following news item is from *The Daily Californian*, May 20, 1965: "Ten Boalt Hall law students will participate in a civil rights clerk-ship program throughout the South this summer. Sponsored by the Law Students Civil Rights Research Council, they will be working as part of a team of 120 students from leading law schools in the nation." Inevitably such students will modify the ethos of the profession of law. Doctors are not noted for a disposition to contravene the *status quo* in American society. The general stodginess and lack of intellectual vivacity in the profession are among the reasons why many of the more intelligent and discerning undergraduates of recent years have chosen academic or research careers in various of the biological sciences in preference to attendance at medical school. Countervailing tendencies may be found —Dr. Spock's public pronouncements on foreign policy, for example, or the doctors who picketed the International Automobile Show in New York on behalf of greater automobile safety (*The Nation*, May 3, 1965). Medical schools will recapture their share of the best undergraduate students only to the extent that they can appeal to the humanitarian instincts and need for social contribution of these students.

One has but to skim the marriage columns in *The New York Times* to realize that a very high proportion of the well-educated sons and daughters of businessmen and industrialists do not enter business and industry. A surprising number are pursuing academic careers or are preparing for such. On the other hand, few sons and daughters of professional men and of those in academic pursuits seem disposed to enter business and industry. A research carried out by David Beardslee and Donald O'Dowd (*The American College*, edited by Nevitt Sanford) finds that liberal arts college students think businessmen less intelligent and more selfish than professional men. They also see them as emotionally more unstable. Does this mean that control of business and industry will pass gradually to more narrowly educated and less sophisticated individuals?

The education of women may recapture the educational initia-

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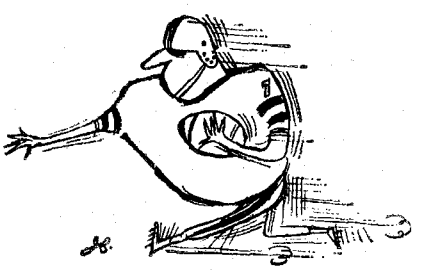
tive it formerly possessed. At one time women's colleges were pioneers in various educational ventures. They introduced courses in creative arts, as well as programs of study abroad. Of late, they have done little except exemplify Diana Trilling's dictum that women need to get an education as bad as men's in order to feel that they are not being discriminated against. At the very time that automation and cybernation and attendant economic and social changes are likely to produce widespread unemployment, increased leisure time and redefinition of work vs. leisure, college women and alumnae are encouraged by educators to realize themselves in the world of work after the manner of men. The situation is similar to that of the Negro in the United States. Now that there is little place for youth in the work force, Negro high school students are urged to take advantage of educational opportunities and thereby qualify for good jobs after graduation. Thus far, educated women have had the good sense not to enter male professions and occupations en masse. They seem to recognize instinctively that there are apt to be more valuable outlets for them than the weary and uninteresting rounds men have been pursuing for generations. New ways of living and of working are now needed, and educated women, divorced as they are from some of the traditional commitments of men, are in a unique position to provide them. I am not particularly sanguine that women's education will offer the educational leadership so badly needed. Faculty and administrators concerned with women's education are only too willing to emulate the education of men.

A discipline and a profession of college teacher or educator will emerge. It is ridiculous to suppose that a graduate degree in one field of study or another—chemistry, or French or psychology—is sufficient qualification for educating college students. A teacher should know something about college students, how and what they learn, how they are changed by educational experiences and the like.

Most research workers in the social sciences have not been interested in the study of whole human beings in real-life situations, but the need to understand college students may change this attitude. A classic example is the situation at the University of California. Although thousands upon thousands of students have served as research subjects for studies and experiments in the School of Education and in the Departments of Sociology and Psychology, with but very few exceptions no research workers were concerned with students as students or as whole human beings. Students were simply eyes for perception experiments, ears for auditory experiments, representatives of this or that reference group, etc. The turmoil at Berkeley suddenly galvanized a number of research workers into investigating the lives of their student colleagues.

As accurate and useful information about students and college experience becomes available, will educators be interested in it? A year ago I should have thought not. The attitude of most administrators and faculty members toward educational research is negative—or was until very recently. They have been disposed to dismiss such research as the product of second-rate minds of the kind that emphasize life adjustment or driver education at the expense of "real" education. But current student unrest may well change these views and impress upon educators the necessity for systematic observation and empirical study. Rhetoric about the glories and wonders of college education will no longer suffice. There will be much more interest in what actually goes on.

I do not suggest that my description of students is appropriate to the majority of American undergraduates. Most of them are conventional, bound by the traditional demands of American society and culture, dutiful and complaisant. The students I have described represent an *avant-garde* at the more prestigious colleges. But in the fashion of these things, we may be sure that what is a ripple today will be a wave tomorrow. Nor do I wish to convey a simple optimism about the future. Man and his society are complex, and I hardly believe that individual and human progress are inevitable. I am convinced, nevertheless, that if we can refrain from blowing ourselves up in the next decade or so, college youth will make this a much better world.



THE TAX-CUT HABIT . . . . . R. A. Musgrave

The Administration's new tax-cut proposal is the third such move since 1962. These include the investment credit and depreciation reform of 1962, costing—at current levels of gross national product (GNP)—some $3 billion; the individual income tax and corporate rate cuts of 1964, running at $12 billion and $2 billion respectively; and the excise cut of about $4 billion now under consideration by Congress. The series will account for a total revenue loss of about $22 billion a year.

Taxpayers have responded generously to this lavish gift. Notwithstanding the cuts, net budget receipts have risen by about $16 billion from 1961 to 1966. With GNP up by more than $150 billion, corporation profits have climbed by $16 billion and personal income by $130 billion; consumer expenditures have grown by $60 billion. Thus the basis was laid for gains in corporation, individual income and excise tax yields that more than offset the initial losses from the rate cuts.

The great experiment of cutting taxes to raise economic activity has

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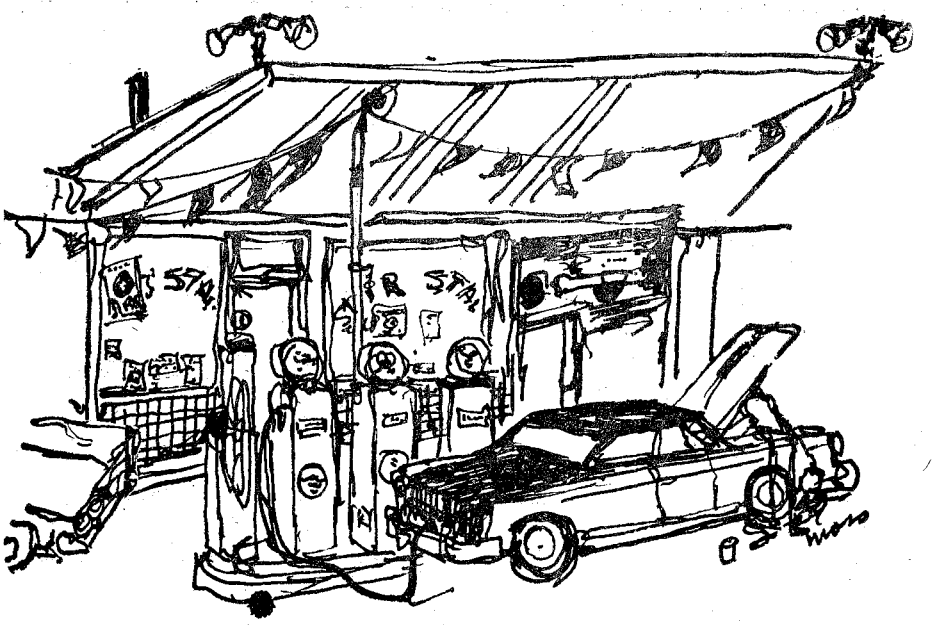

succeeded. As economists predicted, the tax cuts proved a powerful force in releasing power to consumers and investors, thereby raising the level of expenditures and employment, and contributing greatly to what became the most sustained expansion in our economic history. But the record, though splendid in terms of income gained, has been much less satisfactory in terms of unemployment reduced. The expansion lowered the unemployment rate from recession highs, but it did not bring us even close to the "interim goal" of 4 per cent.

This is unfortunate, but it does not signal a failure of the tax-cut approach. Without the cuts, the gain in GNP would have been substantially less, and the unemployment rate would have risen rather than fallen. Our economy is such that we must move ahead even to stand still. The GNP must rise by $25 billion to $30 billion per annum just to absorb the large increases in labor force and productivity that occur from year to year and to hold the rate of unemployment constant. Indeed, until a sufficiently high level of employment is reached, even larger gains are needed to take up the slack.

Looking forward to next year, it is evident that expansionary fiscal action will be sorely needed. Without it, the fiscal picture will tighten —not only because there will be the usual built-in gain in revenue due to a rising level of taxable income, profits and sales — but also because the scheduled increase in payroll tax rates will restrain demand. As a result, potential tax yield at full employment will rise by more than $10 billion. Unless countermeasures are taken, this will impose a sharp break on economic expansion. The economy might have sufficient steam for a continued if modest absolute rise in the level of GNP, but this would be little comfort. Unemployment rates would rise and there would be no chance whatever of catching up with the desired 4 per cent target.

Government outlay is one possible answer, but the increase in public expenditures from 1965 to 1966 will be hardly adequate to maintain fiscal expansion. The Administration's proposal for still another round of tax cutting is thus most welcome. If the medicine has worked well in the past, why not apply it once more to ward off a deterioration in the patient's condition? The case, thus put, is convincing enough, but it should be noted that tax cutting seems to be developing into a habit and that it may exclude other and at times preferable fiscal measures.

Fiscal politics aside, a strong case can be made for reliance on tax cutting as a means of expansionary policy. The argument runs like this: Let us assume that the nation's resources are fully employed, and decide what fraction thereof should be used to meet public wants. Having determined the "proper" level of public expenditures, let us then set tax rates so as to provide the deficit or surplus which is needed to secure a full employment level of demand. If policy were determined in this efficient manner, adjustments in tax rates and transfers would indeed be the proper instrument for employment policy; just as adjustments in the level of public goods and service expenditures would be the proper instrument for allocating resources between public and private use.

But efficiency does not reign, and fiscal politics cannot be overlooked. The fact of the matter is that tax cutting is politically more acceptable than public spending. For one thing, the cutting of taxes promised a step toward dismantling the highly progressive (if largely ineffective) structure of upper-bracket rates. This may have strengthened investment incentives and was pleasing to important groups on more personal grounds. For another, tax reductions promised to make it more difficult, at a later date, to expand public services. Thus, even the staunchest of fiscal conservatives supported the 1964 cut. The composition of the tax-cut supporters thus gives reason to pause. What is gained by raising employment may come to be lost in no small part by aggravating the already unbalanced mix of public and private resource use.

To be sure, substantial progress is being made with the Administration's program on poverty, health and education. More far reaching than corresponding measures enacted since the thirties, these programs will require sizable outlays, and thus narrow the scope for future tax reduction. But such is not the case as yet, and before long the question will again arise as to what further action should be taken in 1966 and 1967. My plea is to let the present reduction be the last in the current series and that, before further similar action is taken, tax reduction be reappraised in the broader context of our national needs.

The term "national needs" is chosen deliberately. While the excess revenue accrues at the federal level, the choice is not alone between tax reduction and increased federal outlays. As advocated in the Heller plan and in similar proposals, federal surplus receipts may be transmitted to the lower levels of government, to be used for the financing of essential state and local needs. While it may not have been

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possible to ready such action for the present situation, it should be given precedence over any future plans for tax reduction.

Since we have had income-tax cuts in the past, it is reasonable that the excises should now have their turn. The proposed program reduces the present excise yield of $15.2 billion to $11.3 billion. Taxes which stay in effect include those on alcoholic beverages and tobacco products with a yield of $6 billion, as well as gasoline and other automotive taxes of $4 billion, used largely to finance the highway trust fund. The tax on passenger cars is to be cut to 7 per cent on July 1 of this year, to 6 per cent on January 1, 1966, and to 5 per cent on January 1, 1967. The telephone tax is to be eliminated by 1969, and most of the other taxes are to be eliminated as of July 1 of this year. Some user charges, especially in connection with the highway program, are to be increased.

As the President's message points out, many of these taxes are small, expensive to collect and reflect wartime patterns of scarcity that no longer apply. Their removal reduces pressure for converting them into a federal sales tax, and is to be welcomed. Liquor and tobacco taxes, which produce a substantial yield, are retained partly on expediency grounds and partly because it is considered in the public interest to

divert consumption away from these items.

The proposed reduction of the excise on passenger automobiles, scheduled for acceleration by the Ways and Means Committee, deserves special comment. The President's message emphasizes the need for user charges where the government renders specific services and a fee can be approximated through tax devices. It is a laudable objective, but hardly one that jibes with the cut in automotive taxes. If a charge is justified when a truck imposes wear on federal highways and hence a cost on the taxpayer, a charge is also justified if the truck imposes other burdens on the consumer who cannot collect for damage. Thus, the social costs of congestion, air pollution and traffic hazards which result from automobile use should be billed to car users, no less than the maintenance of public roads. Once these hidden costs are accounted for, it appears that the automobile is underpriced, and the federal tax constitutes a desirable if hardly sufficient corrective. That excise, therefore, should not be repealed.

Finally, a word of caution on price reduction. If the excise cut is to be effective, prices must be cut accordingly. If prices are reduced, disposable money income remains unchanged initially, but more goods can be purchased therewith. The result is similar to that of raising disposable money income (through income-tax cuts) while prices are constant. But if the excise cut is used to increase profits to the seller, consumer purchases cannot rise, and the expansionary effect hinges on how the seller uses his gain. However, even if the gain were returned to the income stream, the excise cut without price reduction would be most inequitable, and fail to remedy the price-distorting effects of the excise structure.

For these reasons, it is crucial that the excise cuts be reflected in price reduction, and Congress should announce its intention to hold hearings a year hence to determine whether proper price adjustments have been made.

IT WALKS LIKE A MAN . . . . . Roy Bongartz

Scientists must be a frustrated lot, never content with things as they are — especially not content with our own human minds and bodies. No sooner did they trade in our brains for computers than they began inventing machines to replace our bodies. Now on the way are robots 20 feet tall and ten times stronger than Charles Atlas; man, who so far is still tolerated, raises a casual finger or points a toe, and the machine just as casually builds a bridge, dashes enemy soldiers to the ground, or does the frug.

One such walking machine, at General Eelectric Co., is called the Beyond-road-utility-tool-extender, or Brute. When its creator, engineer Ralph Mosher, climbs up into its head, hooks himself up to it, and turns it on, it will do nearly anything he does (except that if Mosher falls down, Brute has a terrible time getting up again). If Mosher wiggles his hips, Brute wiggles *its* hips. Already, on an earlier model, Mosher proved the mastery of machine over man by beating two little Schenectady girls, aged 5 and 6, at hoop spinning.

Brute will have arms with hands, and legs with interchangeable feet (snow feet for winter, balloon feet for walking in moon dust, flipper feet for water skiing), and will march along at 35 miles an hour. A parade of them, bulletproof, fireproof and, presumably, painted in various colors from pink through dark brown, could stage a coast-to-coast freedom march and be as fresh when they arrived as when they left — assuming no hard-losing segregationists stretched wires across the way to trip them up. But Southern farmers might like some Brutes of their own to replace those long-regretted slaves — the machines could be delivered with ingratiating smiles painted on their heads. A man in an easy chair in Brute's head, making the merest suggestion of those tiresome o' cotton-picking motions, could h

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Roy Bongartz is the author of Twelve Chases on West Ninety-Ninth Street, *recently published by Houghton Mifflin.*

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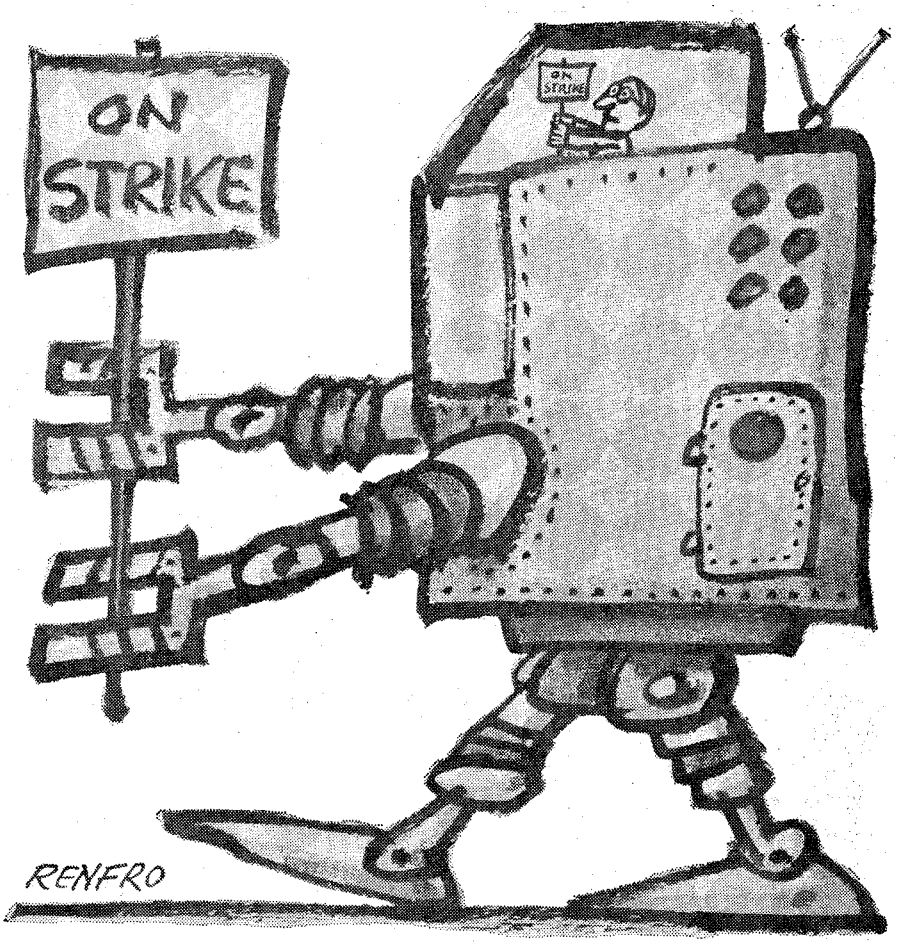
his plantation harvested in no time.

In fact, everybody will need a Brute. A Marine Corps colonel, for example, says, "Brute can do anything a Marine can do, and ten times better." (When a Marine Brute goes out on Saturday night to pick up a girl, that's just what it means.) It is also this colonel's idea that a Brute could chase guerrillas through the jungle, catch them and dash their brains out. "To make the picture of demoralization complete," he says, "Brute might have painted on its front some unearthly device such as a mauve-and-green heikei crab." What attracts everybody about Brute is that you don't have to learn how to run it; you just climb into its head and go about your business, whatever it may be. Brute amplifies your motions and your muscles, and you get a lot more done that way. For example, you could merely brush your teeth while Brute at the same time scrubbed down thirty-two cars—provided you had the cars arranged in two semicircular tiers of sixteen each. And be careful taking out that bridgework.



A gardner's Brute would, of course, come with a very big green thumb. A watchmaker could make a watch while his Brute simultaneously made a new clock for the railroad station tower—of course it would be stem-wound. In the same way, a hobbyist could make a ship model while Brute made a fine 60-foot schooner — the only question being how to launch it from that big bottle.

By a feedback system, an operator feels any resistance that his machine encounters—such as that met by a boy-operated Brute trying to pull a girl-operated Brute into the woods for a walk after a picnic. Even holding hands, boy and girl Brutes would produce a good deal of clanking. But the police would love to have Brutes—they could reach down and pick up a speeding car with one hand, and rattle the occupants around inside to teach them a lesson. In a Brute, a lifeguard could be anywhere on the beach, in a few seconds, with a dozen fast strides—but take it easy on the artificial respiration. And a baby with a rattle could be heard in Brute's head—as long as Brute had a 50-gallon steel drum of rocks to play with. And a somewhat older child can help build our Great Society; give a little boy a sand pail and a shovel, hook him up, leave him alone all day, and by supper time you'll have enough basement dug out for a new Brute-Hilton. Nevertheless, in spite of future perfecting of the machines, some professions will probably always have to do without the help of Brute: diamond cutters, barbers, gynecologists.

Though aged Brutes can be left to rust like old cars, it may be wiser to farm them out to Arizona communities with plenty of sunshine and Three-in-One oil, lest they become restive and vengeful; it should be remembered that even an elderly Brute has the strength, if angered, to pick up a handful of uncooperative social security officials and slam them against the side of the welfare office. But today, Brute is still young, so young, in fact, that it is still attached by umbilical cord to an electric outlet, and may well end up with an Oepidus complex toward the power and light company.

The trouble, of course, is that Brute was made in man's own image. He stands upright on two legs; it might have been much better if he walked on all fours. If man had been less egotistical, he might have designed Brute after some animal other than himself. An anteater, a fish, a sloth perhaps. Maybe just an ordinary dog. But then there would be the technical problems which, with man, do not arise, such as making Brute wag its tail or bark. Brute is on the way in and man on the way out, but man still figures because —without a man in its head—a machine, even today, cannot figure out *what is coming next*. Engineer Mosher says it is impossible to "construct a machine versatile enough by itself to make its way through sand, mud, strewn rocks, swamp or forest—and to do this without knowing what was coming up next. The most advanced computer system couldn't accomplish it. But a man can do this." What Mosher is saying is simply that man has but one thing left with which to compete with the machine —his ability to worry. If we lose that, or if Brute learns to worry on his own, then Brute takes over altogether.

There's something to worry about.

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What So Proudly We Hailed

AMERICA'S LOST PLAYS. Vol. I through VIII. Edited by Barrett H. Clark. Indiana University Press. $8.75 per set of two volumes.

Henry Popkin

The reprinting of *America's Lost Plays* is nearly complete (two volumes are still to come), and soon the whole of this record of America's drama in the 19th century will be available again. The project, edited by the late Barrett H. Clark and numerous collaborators, is invaluable; what it records is considerably less than that, except as social history. Of course, this series does not tell the whole story, and it is not intended to. But most of these "lost" plays were really lost until Clark and his collaborators printed them; perusal of the plays indicates that those who lost them knew what they were doing.

Typical are the dramas written by Robert Montgomery Bird before he became famous as the author of one of Edwin Forrest's most popular vehicles; seven unacted plays by the indefatigable John Howard Payne; the early work of James A. Herne; some unspeakable melodramas, including one of those written for Laurette Taylor by her first husband and burlesqued on Broadway by Mary Martin not so long ago, and Julia Ward Howe's *Hippolytus*, written for Edwin Booth and Charlotte Cushman but rejected even though "Miss Cushman related that if she and Mr. Booth had gone out on the stage merely to greet each other, the house would have been filled." More respectable exhibits include John Augustus Stone's *Metamora* (one of Forrest's most famous plays, with its fourth act newly restored in this reprint), James O'Neill's version of *The Count of Monte Cristo*, Bronson Howard's *The Banker's Daughter*, the farces of Charles Hoyt, and some plays by Dion Boucicault. When they do nothing else, these works tell us something of the popular taste of their times—and Hoyt and Boucicault even possess some virtues that are accessible for salvage.

Henry Popkin frequently writes on the theatre.

Is there nothing to be valued in the great mass of this drama? Principally a certain histrionic verve, but even to believe in this requires a certain effort of will. One must compel oneself to imagine the reaction of the dazzled audience hypnotized by the rancid oratory and by the stage tricks. It is not easy. But we are used to saying that the 19th century was, until the rise of Ibsen, a bad period for the drama everywhere. It was the age of the actor-manager, that curious combination of the purely histrionic and the purely commercial. Or was it? In Europe it was, after all, a time when plays were written by Goethe, Schiller, Buechner, Kleist, Hugo, Musset, Labiche, Feydeau, Gogol and Ostrovsky; when such outsiders as Balzac, Flaubert, Shelley, Browning and Turgenev thought the stage worthy of their attention. Things were quite different, however, in a new nation, equally uncertain of its literary and its theatrical traditions—a nation in which the divorce between literature and the theatre was virtually complete. Payne collaborated with Washington Irving, George Henry Boker mentions Edgar Allan Poe in one of his plays, and Walt Whitman was once a drama critic. Except for such chance associations, an iron curtain separates the 19th-century American theatre from American literature. The theatre was commerce, and literature was art, and that was that. Indeed, Boker makes it clear that he is reaching for a high one when, in *The Bankrupt*, he has his detective announce that the crucial cipher was solved for him by "a poet—a great genius people will say, after he's dead . . . Mr. Poe."

People indeed say that about Mr. Poe, Mr. Melville and many of their literary contemporaries — but not about their contemporaries who wrote for the stage. The 19th-century American theatre, all of it, is lost to us, and not only in the sense of the title of this series. Curiously, even the most old-fashioned dramatists of Europe are revived in their own countries, and not only at the national theatres. I have seen Sardou's *Madame Sans-Gêne* and Hugo's *Lucrèce Borgia* in the commercial theatres of Paris. Are their lost American counterparts so much worse?

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Certainly, in some hokey moments of melodrama, the whole world seems one. Take Walter Woods's "lost" *Billy the Kid*—a play of no literary standing whatsoever, but which affords a peculiarly close parallel with *Lucrèce*. Billy finds, one minute before the final curtain falls, that his arch enemy is really his long-lost father; as the dastardly pa raises his gun to shoot Billy, who characteristically is praying, in the back, he is picked off by his own scoundrelly accomplices. (Pa conveniently falls down a deep well; Billy is assumed to have been killed, and so the reformed outlaw is free to start a new life.) The last words of *Lucrèce Borgia* are these: "Ah! . . . You have slain me.—Gennaro! I am your mother." If Hugo's poetic license permits him this freedom with Lucrezia Borgia, why is not Walter Woods licensed to do the same with Billy the Kid? Veracity is the last of our concerns; both Billy and the Borgias belong to legend now, and if Billy made it faster, that is probably the result of superior American technology.

Is *Lucrèce Borgia* somehow better than its American counterparts? It is very far from being a great play, but it does manage some better verbal and theatrical responses to its sensational crises. What is more important, it benefits from the absence of the weird sentimental assumptions — moralistic, patriotic and social—that are found everywhere in American plays of the century. Had *Lucrèce Borgia* been written by an American, its only point would have been that poisoning people is immoral and will only lead to unhappiness in the end. Even the contrasting attitudes toward parricide in *Lucrèce Borgia* and *Billy the Kid* are instructive. Gennaro is permitted to kill his mother; it is logical for Billy to kill his father, but matters must be so contrived that someone else does it for him. The American drama was too sentimental to permit anything else. An American Oedipus would have been unthinkable and, in fact, Mrs. Howe's American Hippolytus is completely blameless—her Phaedra is nearly so and, consequently, Artemis and Aphrodite are much more in evidence than Euripides' version.

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lay at the court of Charles II has taught us that an idealistic drama does not necessarily reflect the life of its times; on the contrary, it may reflect only the nostalgia for ideals. The lost plays go a step further; they impose a moral *pax* Americana upon experience.

Take the case of Bronson Howard, a reputable dramatist of his time, who has described how he wrestled with the moral problem of *The Banker's Daughter*. To save her father from financial ruin, the girl of the title forsakes the man she loves and marries an older suitor. How to bring about an instructive, morally invulnerable happy ending? Kill off the husband and let the girl marry her lover? Howard seriously considered this possibility, but he feared he would be implying that the proper course for an unhappy wife would be to wait for her husband to die. So, the lover is conveniently killed in a duel, and the young wife grows to love her husband. Howard set up the same moral issue in two more of the "lost" plays, but he was less insistent upon making the main incidents exemplary, trusting instead to the impeccable moral tone of the play as a whole. The heroine of *Baron Rudolph* divorces the poor but honest Rudolph and marries a wealthy bounder; after being exposed and arrested, the wealthy bounder helpfully shoots himself, and his widow remarries Rudolph. The second-string heroine of *One of Our Girls* loves a nice young man but marries a wicked old one; happily, she turns out not to be legally married at all because her husband has an undivorced first wife—and, even better, he has recently killed his first wife (and, of course, thrown her down a well), and so we may expect the guillotine to remove this obstacle to general happiness. The fine moral distinction comes down to this: the middle-aged husband of *The Banker's Daughter* is a fine, decent man, and so he can expect to be breathing when the curtain falls; the husbands of the two later plays are vicious, and so they must come to violent ends. If unhappy wives must not be instructed to wait for their husbands to die, at least they are encouraged to hope that their husbands may be wicked enough to shoot themselves or be executed.

Howard, it is important to remember, was a serious dramatist and not at all an author of melodramas. Melodramas, in *America's Lost Plays*, are segregated in a separate volume, which contains such examples of subliterature as the before-mentioned *Billy the Kid* (in which Billy is raised in an aristocratic Southern household), Charles A. Taylor's *From Rags to Riches* (featuring a chase over the roof of the Waldorf-Astoria), Lillian Mortimer's *No Mother To Guide Her*, and *The Great Diamond Robbery* (in which two deaths result from the use of an instantaneous South American poison) by E. M. Alfriend and A. C. Wheeler.

Still, the interesting point, however, is that the melodramas and the serious plays have the same ingredients — improbable turns of plot, secret documents, the sudden discovery of long-lost sons and discarded wives; in short, the same world, generously peopled with lecherous old men, honorable young ones, shameless "adventuresses" (whatever *they* are), lovable waifs, and humor characters who speak implausible dialects. How does one tell these two genres apart? From which sort of play might this speech come? "Here are the complete proofs of his villainy — your brother's will — the identity of your son—in the dying confession of the savage to whom he was sold." That happens to be Herne's *The Minute Men*, which is a drama, not a melodrama; we are discovering that the noble Roanoke is not really an Indian after all but the long-lost son of Captain Winslow. A serious drama by Steele Mackaye, *Won at Last*, contains the most extraordinary conversations in dialect, not between two comedy waiters but between the French adventuress who may wreck our hero's marriage and the good-natured German who is determined to foil her:

"Ho! You vas crazy mad!"
"Shtop!"
"Let me go, or I vill scream!"
"If you makes von noise, I vill expose to your hoospand!"
"He vill belief nosing!"

She changes her tune when he threatens her with "de leetle sheck vat you forge my name to in Baden."

The morality is likely to be the same, in any one of these plays. Marriage is sacrosanct, even when it is the worst of marriages. "Does money confer happiness?" asks one of the dramatists. No, it does not, answer all the others in chorus. Love is the supreme value, and that is why the wicked are always trying in vain to buy it. Except for the Irish, foreigners are likely to be immoral,

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including even the good-natured German of *Won at Last.* (George H. Jessop's *Sam'l of Posen* is a startling example of philo-Semitism, but it has nothing else to recommend it.) Drink is a curse. (Only Charles Hoyt seems to disagree, in *A Temperance Town,* one of his less satisfactory plays.) Social questions are fully disposed of when the strike leader in *Baron Rudolph* moonlights as a burglar. Only in a Civil War play is patriotism likely to come into question; otherwise, it is suitably embodied in the image of "General Washington on horseback" at the end of *The Minute Men;* "the figure of Ireland clothed in palest green and with a coronet of shamrocks in her hair" at the end of Boucicault's *Robert Emmet;* or another visitor, appearing as the curtain falls on H. J. Conway's *The Battle of Stillwater*: "The genius of Liberty descends in a cloud carrying a golden eagle which she places on the American flagstaff."

While all these elements are as characteristic of the melodramas as of the serious plays, the melodramas moralize less, depend more on the obvious character stereotypes, speed up their improbable action, and give violence any help and attention it requires. "Serious" dramatists shield us from their violent events. Between the acts of one of Howard's plays, the villain shoots himself and, between the acts of another, the villain throws his wife down a well. In melodrama, Billy the Kid's father goes down his well right before our eyes—and that is, finally, how to distinguish a melodrama from a serious play.

A few comedies stand up—Boucicault's *Forbidden Fruit* and some of Hoyt's plays, notably *A Milk White Flag,* which has the virtue of acknowledging that unheroic underside of human character overlooked by the other dramatists. General Hurley Burleigh asks a militia officer: "Supposing the nation became involved in war and you were called on to take the field. What would you do?" "Disband," replies Judge Howland Hooper. Fittingly, this regiment is given a battle flag which "Borne at the head of your columns, the very sight of it will still the firing of the enemy and bring the battle to an end." It is, naturally, the white flag of the title. Hoyt's *A Trip to Chinatown* bears some unmistakable resemblances to Thornton Wilder's *The Matchmaker*; I suspect they have a common source in John Oxenford's *A Day Well Spent.* It is comforting to learn, from plays like Hoyt's, that human nature was not substantially different in the 19th century; the trouble is only that most dramatists conspired to make it seem so.

How Absurd To Be Absurd

SELECTED WORKS OF ALFRED JARRY. Edited by Roger Shattuck and Simon Watson Taylor. Grove Press. 280 pp. $7.95.

Gordon Rogoff

One of the more amusing habits of criticism is its positive passion for labels. Whatever the origin of the habit, it is surely due by now for mild ridicule. Movements are named, artists are placed, art looks more like a thing than an essence and feelings become numbed. A useful experiment might be a year's moratorium on the naming of things; everybody — including bureaucratic critics — would be compelled to think before building houses of categories.

In the theatre, the first category to go would be the "absurd," not because it is without its uses, but because it is used too often today by both protagonists and enemies as a stupefying, narrow convenience. It is all so pat and firm: one night in 1896, we are told, Alfred Jarry brought forth an incredibly mad play of fancy called *Ubu Roi*; and from then on, the usual cultural lag notwithstanding, absurdist drama was bound to have its sway. No room in this casual philosophy for the way things really happen. How ironic, in fact, that the several moves toward reflecting the jokes, cheats and agonies of being alive should be themselves ordered into a verbal prison. We are asked, in effect, to admire not the variety in art, but rather its monotony; not the startling differences between Beckett and Ionesco, but rather their obvious and accidental similarities (age, adopted nation, time of notoriety, etc.).

Quite apart from questions of accuracy, the label mania makes a mockery of someone like Jarry whose life and work were conscious exercises designed to disarm received ideas. Jarry, of course, couldn't "win" any battles or "prove" any points. He could only demonstrate a terrible logic: to make art from his life required not only the fragmentation of art but, inevitably, the dissolution of life itself. Even to be named, then, is a contradiction in terms.

Nevertheless, Jarry has been named more often than he has been known. To his contemporaries, he was a *potache,* half brat, half prodigy. Gide thought of him as a "nutcracker," using the word to define Jarry's uninflected speech, his way of placing equal stress on all syllables, including the silent ones. For Yeats, he was "the Savage God," while for Apollinaire, he was "the last sublime debauchee of the Renaissance." Those who have bothered to think of him at all rise to the occasion invariably with similar descriptive terms. Mr. Shattuck, who earlier offered a brief biography of him as part of his study of the French *avant-garde* between 1885 and 1914, *The Banquet Years* (there's a label for you!), thinks of him as "a sensible maniac." Jarry, clearly, is a would-be escape artist

Gordon Rogoff is a regular critic for the Tulane Drama Review.

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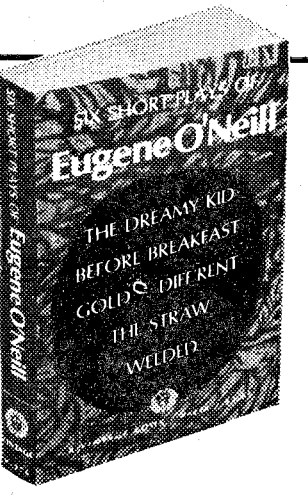

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who, to this day, can never quite make the break. He is gagged and bound in the prison of his own freedom.

There are other ironies. If Mr. Shattuck and Mr. Taylor's welcome collection does nothing else, it rescues reality from the myth, something that Jarry might not entirely appreciate. Suddenly he is less romantic, no longer the darkling gnome who wrote a dirty word that began a crazy play ("*merdre*," says Père Ubu as the curtain rises), but quite simply a writer; an anguished child touched by genius, a parody philosopher, a self-destructive, unfinished, cruelly representative man. Now that the work other than *Ubu* can be read in English, it can be seen that, at his best, he was never much of a writer. Art and life were one in his vision because he was making a prodigious mess of both.

It is easy to be distracted from this response to his work. Jarry, after all, is a popular type: the flamboyantly destructive artist who appears to have invented himself. Few read *Beppo* or *Don Juan* any more, but thousands leer at Byron's sensual biography. Similarly, Thomas and Behan burned themselves out while the world fiddled in the wings. As always, booze and early death proved more interesting than poetry or drama. Jarry the type and Jarry the legend were all we needed to know. He was droll, he was ghastly, he made figurative pee-pee on some elegant end-of-century drawing-room floors, he wrote a play that seems ever so much before its time and he died the obligatory slow, alcoholic, early death.

A further distraction is the myth of the thinker. Perhaps that was Jarry's most useful jest. By inventing *pataphysics*, "the science of imaginary solutions," he made fun of other people's pretensions while conveying the illusion of his own seriousness. After that, the areas for his concern must have appeared endless. Every word was a testament, every thought oracular. "The soul is a tic," he wrote, only to be quoted ceaselessly in whispers as if it meant something. Somewhere in the foliage of his imagination must have lurked a suspicion that, in fact, it *did* mean something. And so, he proclaimed the divisions within his soul as a kind of undivine order: opposites are equal; anything, indeed, can be its own opposite; night is day; grace is drunkenness; love is obscenity. If it all reads like a baby primer for bastard anarchists, that too can be no surprise. Inspired illustrator that he really was (and more examples of his drawings would have been helpful in this book), Jarry was probably having fun with the obvious, presenting reduction in the form of deduction, etching simplicities and selling them as the last word in oils.

Still, there are scattered pleasures in his work. The further adventures of Ubu are reminders that, had he been less obsessive, he might have dwindled into a miniature comic dramatist. Some of the poems read in English translation as if Lewis Carroll had been weirdly cross-pollinated with W.S. Gilbert and men's room scribes. As such, they are more fun and more readable than the fiction, which suffers from Jarry's evident incapacity to sustain any motive force more than the length of a spasm.

The customary, flattering placement of a writer like Jarry is to think of him as a pathfinder. It is true, certainly, that *Ubu Roi* was *received* by its first audience as if it was the first shot in the First World War. But was *Ubu* really so modern, or does it seem so prophetic only because our own theatre is so far behind? Somehow, the naming game obstructs. Theatre of the absurd, such as it exists and subdivides itself, would surely have occurred without Jarry. It was the word *merdre* that shocked people into reluctant recognition rather than the shock of a new style. Jarry detested the audience—"it is they who are the madmen"—because they were battling intelligence. Yet, on the evidence of his dazzling stammers, so was he.

The audience at any time, I suggest, is the original model for any mass-resistance movement. It wasn't a shift in form that rocked the passive beast in Jarry's day. Any well-placed four-letter word would have conveyed the appearance of revolution. For the audience, form is only the patsy for embarrassment and middle-class outrage. Things haven't changed.

The Avant-Garde in Prague

Vera Blackwell

"I'll go get rich, murder the lot of them, and go away." This is the maxim of Father Ubu, shortly to become *Roi*, later *Enchaîné*, finally, again *Roi* — a king of slaves this time, crowned in prison by other slaves who, weary of a fully mechanized "freedom" which is nothing else but the previous despotism under another name, have chosen prison as the ideal of total irresponsibility.

Jan Grossman's Czech version of Alfred Jarry's mad playlets about Ubu, which he and Milos Macourek have adapted into a single play, naturally enough cannot be understood by foreign audiences. Yet recently in West Berlin, spectators kept breaking into enthusiastic applause all through the performance of this *Ubu* given by the Prague Theatre on the Balustrade at the Akademie der Künste. And in Munich a few weeks later the same thing happened.

The production, directed by Grossman, is crammed with brilliant visual ideas, violent and surprising juxtapositions, paradoxes, ironies. The scene changes continuously. A couple of battered old ash cans, a few orange crates and an iron bed become in turn a bedroom, a palace, a street, a chapel, a battlefield, a tribunal, a prison, etc. These pieces are being reshuffled by the actors in the course of, and at the ends of, individual scenes with such smoothness and logic that the swift changes from one locale to another occur without a break in action, as though by magic. The illusion of place, supported by exquisitely recorded and reproduced sound effects and music, is complete.

It is spectacular, a theatrical tour de force, an extravaganza, yet never for a moment glib or glossy, facile or superficial. This kind of performance calls for an absolute precision in timing, for a perfectly coordinated orchestration of all the movements, and Grossman is a master of both; yet it seems spontaneous, and is played with a vivacity, a gusto seldom preserved by such polished professionals. There is a basic kindness and a humanity about the production which permeate even the most viciously satirical and gory scenes, and which coaxes the horrendously cruel, blatantly stupid Ubu into becoming at times almost endearing. The whole performance has an honesty and a

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purity of style which make it an aesthetic pleasure to watch. Furthermore, its great success in West Berlin has shown that this kind of stage language and this emotional and intellectual intensity and integrity are intelligible even without an understanding of the actual text. It has shown that the Balustrade's concept of what they call "The Appellative Theatre" works not only in their own cultural milieu but also beyond it.

The ensemble has been developing this concept, of which their *Ubu* is a kind of culmination, since Grossman became the head of the Drama Company of the Theatre on the Balustrade less than three years ago. His group shares the theatre with a brilliant mime company, headed by Ladislav Fialka, which has had great success on tour in many parts of the world and, incidentally, is booked for a return engagement in the United States soon. The theatre is a real workshop in which there exists no trace of a rigid hierarchy of functions. Everybody, the director, the dramatist or the adaptor, the technicians, the stage designer, the musicians, and even the wardrobe staff, takes part in all the preliminary discussions and preparations, which often go on for months before any rehearsals begin. During the rehearsals the director imposes a general pattern, arrived at during the preliminary discussions, and elaborates individual units within this pattern, but in all other respects the collective experimentation continues. Thus, the resulting performance is a thoroughly homogeneous piece of work in which nothing jars and every part is totally integrated.

This method can be carried out only under a director powerful enough to stimulate all the talented people with whom he works, and wise enough to allow the talents of others to grow and develop alongside his own. Jan Grossman has this power and this wisdom. He is a highly disciplined intellectual, as well as an imaginative artist, a catalyst as well as an originator of ideas.

The Balustrade's belief in the vitality and dynamism of theatrical work leads them to the logical conclusion that the collective endeavor does not end with the rehearsals, but is truly fulfilled only in each individual performance. Thus every night a "dialogue" occurs between the stage and the auditorium, between each actor and each spectator. Theatre means not only an "engaged" ensemble but also an "engaged" audience. The word "engaged" does not carry any political overtones. It means an intellectual and emotional intensity. The audience must be provoked to think, to experience, and in a way to re-create the play, together with the actors. This objective is not entirely new. New is the way in which it is being realized and made effective within the ever-changing context of present-day life in Czechoslovakia.

The Drama Company of the Theatre on the Balustrade is the most vigorous among the Czech *avant-garde* ensembles, but it is not the only one. There is a large number of such groups (the Czech equivalent of New York off-Broadway theatres) experimenting with theatrical expression, not only within the small ensembles but also on big "official" stages, of which there are many. Prague alone, with its 1 million inhabitants, has, in all, twenty-six theatres, and there are others in every large town and city of Czechoslovakia.

The theatre, for very definite historical reasons connected with the national Revival Movement of the 18th and 19th centuries, became a focal point of the cultural life of a Czech city. Thus, to this day, theatre to a Czech means culture rather than entertainment. The theatre can prosper because people want the theatre; it is an integral part of their life. It does not have to be inflicted on them from above (compare, for example, Malraux's attempts in this respect in France). This enviable situation for dramatists, actors, directors, stage designers, explains why so much energy and talent are concentrated in the theatrical life of Czechoslovakia.

Theatres in Czechoslovakia have always worked on the repertory principle. There has never been anything even resembling the commercial theatres of the West. Nevertheless, experimentation in the large theatres is not as a rule a part of a carefully worked-out program of the whole ensemble as is the case with most of the smaller groups. In the larger groups it happens more or less accidentally, when a great director meets a great dramatist. In this way some unforgettable performances occurred under the direction of such men as Otomar Krejca or Alfred Radok. This almost haphazard character of incidental experimentation is reminiscent of similar happy "acci-

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dents" in the West. There is, however, one aspect in which the Czech "official" *avant-garde* differs radically from its Western counterpart: even if a performance is plodding, uninspired and uninspiring, one can always count on its being set in a marvelously inventive décor. In the field of stage design the Czechs are the undisputed masters in Europe. In this field, experimentation goes on all the time and at all levels. Here the dominating personality is the incredibly versatile and imaginative stage designer and stage architect, Joseph Svoboda, whose powerful sets have recently amazed audiences and critics in Edinburgh, Vienna and Brussels.

A consistent and continuous theatre culture cannot, however, grow out of individual productions, no matter how great or stimulating they may be, nor out of a wealth of inspiring *Scénografie*. It requires a public which needs and wants the theatre, and it must itself be carefully developed and cultivated. If the theatre is to remain truly dynamic, it must always be a step ahead of itself; the breaking of new and as yet unexplored ground must become the leading principle of a consciously directed program. And this task, for reasons of greater flexibility and greater independence, falls to the smaller ensembles.

The vigor and growth of the Czech theatre as a whole depend on work such as that carried out by the young ensemble of the Theatre on the Balustrade under the enlightened leadership of Jan Grossman.

America on the Paris Stage

Nicholas Biel

Paris

An American's vision of his native land is rarely absent from the French stage. Currently, Parisian theatregoers can reconstruct a picture of American life from among the works of such disparate sources as Arthur Miller, Edward Albee, George Axelrod and Neil Simon. And recently the French have added to this gallery two very different views — each taken, as it were, from the outside. Jean Vilar, former director of the Théâtre National Populaire, has made a living-newspaper out of the files of the Oppenheimer hearings in the Washington of ten years ago, and Jean-Louis Barrault, for the Théâtre de France, has dramatized Kafka's *Amerika*.

Vilar's picture shows a good man, with certain failings, to be sure, but devoted, brilliant in his field and certainly not "unpatriotic," who is hounded by bigots and ignoramuses. In the end they topple him despite the spirited defense of his colleagues. Rather than present a full-scale portrait of Oppenheimer, Vilar has chosen to give a series of thumbnail sketches of the personalities involved — the attorneys for the Atomic Energy Committee, the attorneys for Oppenheimer, the witnesses, the judges and, briefly, Oppenheimer himself.

The dialogue purports to come directly from the published transcript of the hearings, but by judicious editing and selection Vilar has managed to keep it rather more lively than the endless pages must seem in print. Given the director's avowed sympathies, it is interesting to watch him make a deliberate attempt to keep the proceedings objective. A neutral narrator fills the gaps left in the story and all the play asks is why a man of Oppenheimer's stature must be forced to defend himself publicly from his own beliefs in the total absence of any evidence either of malfeasance or treachery. The McCarthy era is barely mentioned in the text, Vilar assuming that his audience is sufficiently well informed in recent American history to understand his play's background.

Spare as it is, completely devoid of any literary embellishment, even the good talk so dear to French audiences, thin in characterization, except for what the actors make of their roles, *Le Dossier Oppenheimer* nevertheless remains a continuously absorbing evening in the theatre, due in part to the brilliance of the production and the nature of the subject matter. French audiences that have at best a second-hand, or even rudimentary, knowledge of the situation that in the United States gave rise to a specific hysteria, and perhaps no knowledge at all of the power issues underlying it, follow every line of the Vilar script with rapt attention.

Unquestionably, echoes of analogous "hearings" in France and neighboring countries are evoked, for here is the Force before whom one need only be accused to be found guilty. Guilty of what hardly matters, since guilt itself has become, as in Kafka, a concrete object. Yet nothing could be more un-Kafka-like than this particular play.

What is involved, of course, is the question of loyalty. We can assume that a government will wish to equate the nation with itself and will at least imply that loyalty to the one be loyalty to the other; and the closer one gets to a dictatorship the more insistent the government will be in this regard. Most Americans will grant that after 1932, the German intellectuals, industrialists and military men, whatever the pressure on them, who pledged allegiance to Hitler as the embodiment of the German nation, effectively destroyed the nation; whereas those who chose exile and disloyalty to the government were in effect the nation's most loyal supporters. The difficulty arises when a condition is posed that might possibly be applicable to the United States as well.

Vilar's hero is no Old Testament prophet come down from the hills to preach righteousness. He is a civilized man who has, reluctantly, perhaps, made his peace with the powers that be. But that is not enough for the powers. At one time in his career Oppenheimer had opposed what they were doing. He did not actively fight them, but merely pointed out that what they were doing was ethically questionable and would probably be politically unavailing. He was overruled and he accepted the decision, but because he had initially protested on moral grounds, his loyalty was *ipso facto* suspect.

One wished, in viewing the play, that the character Vilar calls Oppenheimer had really been of heroic stature instead of merely intelligent, earnest, clever, witty and somehow sad about something — perhaps the fact that he was not a hero; neither Prometheus nor Isaiah.

That this muted piece is nonetheless strong drama is perhaps also due in part to what an audience is forced to bring to it. Seated in the darkened theatre watching and listening to a play that seems to be taking place in a vacuum, a spectator is forced to supply a milieu from his own knowl-

Nicholas Biel is an American playwright and poet now living in Paris where a one-act play of his is in rehearsal for performance in both French and English.

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edge and experience that will explain the undeniable actuality occurring before his eyes. A European is admittedly better equipped by a longer history than is an American for this kind of introspection. And the implications of Vilar's narrative make his play seem uglier than it is because the terms employed to describe the central situation are so moderate and seemingly judicious.

Jean-Louis Barrault, equally brilliant as theatre magician, finds the basis for his vision of America in a novella written by a Czech who had never been there. Not that Franz Kafka was seriously writing about America. He wrote seriously only about the individual who couldn't. Charlot in mufti, as it were, who couldn't communicate his innocence even to those who had no interest in, let alone certainty of, his guilt.

Less austere than Kafka's two major works, *Amerika* is nonetheless the story of the man who couldn't do *much*. In this case, 16-year-old Karl Rossman has been sent to America by his poor parents because he had been seduced by the servant girl and was the father of her child. What becomes of mother and child is of no further interest or importance to the author, who from this point of departure goes on to recount Karl's adventures in America, a bad dream that becomes a worse nightmare. Nothing that Karl attempts or is pushed into works out for him. As it unfolds on the stage of the Odéon-Théâtre de France *Amerika* looks like a Horatio Alger story in reverse—from rags to tatters.

Barrault, an old hand with Kafka (he has already dramatized *The Trial* and *The Castle*), follows the outline of the story diligently and everything is there except the essence. But since this essence is literary, not theatrical, it is hardly any wonder that the play fails in what must be considered Kafka's primary purpose.

Like Proust, Kafka writes subjectively and with such completeness of detail that his medium of expression can only be the printed page. Performable dramatic action requires a minimum of exterior objectivity, whereas in Kafka action is completely interior. And there is always only one character — the ubiquitous K. Furthermore, one can say that since the author explains this character totally, there is nothing left for the actor to do. In Shakespeare, there are hardly any stage directions. In Kafka, as in Proust, there is little else.

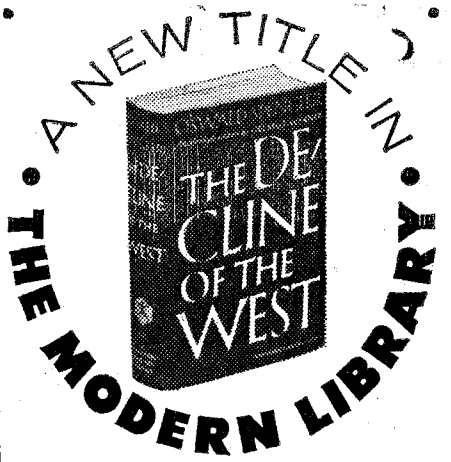
However, taken without regard to its source, this *Amerika* is lively spectacle, frequently amusing, sometimes hilarious in the manner of an old-time musical revue, and never dull. Jean Prodromidès has composed a fine score to underline the various scenes —the sequence involving the opera singer Brunelda is especially delicious —and one wishes the play had been conceived throughout in terms of musical comedy.

The Odéon is one of the subsidized state theatres, and the production is lavish, but never ostentatious or vulgar. For all the seriousness, not to say solemnity of young Antoine Bourseiller, director of the piece, there is a feeling of lightheartedness in this potpourri of clichés — the usual clichés of America subscribed to by Europeans, as well as the images regularly encountered in Kafka.

Some years ago Rea Irwin drew a series of cartoons showing various aspects of American life as imagined by people who had never seen the place. The dramatization of Kafka's *Amerika* conceivably belongs to this genre. In Paris, it received a uniformly bad press and will probably not succeed. Yet if the Renaud-Barrault troupe takes another trip to the States in the near future this production could very easily enjoy great popular success.

By coincidence, among the three Albee plays currently running in Paris is *The American Dream*, in comparison to which the dramatization of Kafka comes closer to Peter Pan. But for all its superficiality and derivativeness—it seems to be straight out of Ionesco via Roger Vitrac—the Albee work is conceived of first as a play and it does work on the stage (although not so much so in Laurent Tertzieff's production because, for one thing, he is too busy being superior to the vision presented by the author).

The point to bear in mind is that since there is nothing inescapably true or false about either the Kafka or the Albee image of America, an American can watch one or the other comfortably, even with a certain amused detachment. *The Oppenheimer File*, on the other hand, is immediately recognizable as a reasonably accurate retelling of an event. To some this will be washing dirty linen, to others it will seem more revealing of certain American middle-class attitudes than is ever revealed in Albee's Freudian



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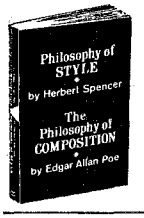

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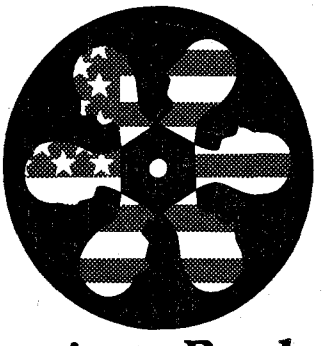

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Those Old Gods

who arose from the sea
with their beards dry

a neat trick if you can
do it on a foundation

fellowship or a State
Department travel grant

to butter up the native
intellectuals of course

I'm retired now but I
nose about a bit after

decorous sensations oh
nothing flashy a phrase

here a patch of color
there it passes the time

till the bell rings but
how did they do it right

up out of the waves and
never a single hair wet?

James Laughlin

Saxo Cere

comminuit brum a rainy day
when he can't play outside

and Henry is cutting little
axes out of a piece of card-

board he bloodies them up
nicely with red crayon and

then very lovingly one after
another brings them to me

at my desk where I'm work-
ing as if they were flowers.

James Laughlin

Beetpullers

Beetleaves shine
from the slow rain.
Along the ploughed lines

the green spades sink.
Old beetpullers feel light break
over their bent backs.

Their sacks get darker on them
and the quiet birds run
freeleaping in the rain.

The deaths of birds
are meaningless, full of hurt.
These men break earth

off the rich bells
of beet in ebbed fields —
bleeding like amphora when pulled.

The drenched air might
flow in the furrows. The light
hedged birds stay quiet.

Rain aches on the pullers' hands —
their autumn is always hard.
It is rare to turn up the skull of a bird

but these men will die really and leave
the dazzle the earth covers
of waterbeads on the leaves.

They stoop, pull, and knock —
each top is rainy, sour, and thick.
Each is scalped with the pointed hook.

Living is for breakfast and night —
day has a paid heart
when they wear the clay gait

of lumbago, sacks and caps —
and inside the rain seeps
and moulds their shapes.

If they do not like it they can die
so long grass hoods the body
and blackbirds sing dull yews to the sky.

Norman Talbot

lower case poem

fish nibble at the surface
also down below .
my love and i spend less time so
than we would wish

belly to belly fast
and sometimes slow,
fish nibble at the surface
also down below

rooms not our own
we make our own and go
belly to belly fast
and sometimes slow

gulls are our birds and dive
the dove, the sparrow
also prove our heat and beat
against the wings of rooms we fill and leave .

hands that walk and move
or wave and slow —
our hands have fasted
more than we would wish .

the winter beach
will be half-filled with snow
unlike the summered spring
we reached the crest

of that spring tide i sing
clutched to one another thru
the forests of the bmt, the slow
reaches of the brighton line, to

break the fast of hands
we go and go, and
come at last to that
whipped all over with sunlight
sea .

Paul Blackburn

Instruction

You say
you are lost, but
there is a path

going where you are going —
not
as the crow

flies, but another way —
and when you get there,
let me know

the name of the bird.

Thomas Clark

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comic strip. In any case, the material it employs was there for anyone to use. (A German, Herman Kipphardt, used it before Vilar.) More power to Vilar for having seized on it, but I would have preferred that this particular vision of America had been revealed first in English on native ground.

The Editor As Artist

FILMS BEGET FILMS. By Jay Leyda. Hill and Wang. 176 pp. $4.50.

Howard Junker

If you have strong eyes and six months to live at the Paris Cinematheque, they say you can see every important movie ever made. Otherwise, unless you're at cine-school, becoming well read in film requires more waiting than watching.

America's cinematheque is made up of the art houses, which show a limited number of classics again and again; television, which shows good films sometimes; film clubs, which are gentle and occasional; the George Eastman House in Rochester, the Hollywood Museum, and the Library of Congress (which is strictly an archive) and the Museum of Modern Art.

Film disintegration plagues all film museums. Before 1950, movies were made on nitrate base stock. Over the years, this stock corrodes, becomes brittle and warps. The Museum of Modern Art, for example, has 13 million feet of film. About a quarter of this collection is disintegrating, primarily because there's no money to pay for transfer to new stock. (Benefactors, come forward.)

For the films that have been saved, there's the problem of exhibition. New facilities at the Museum of Modern Art should make its collection more accessible. At present, its public screenings seem organized neither for the utmost in entertainment nor education. The museum once offered a Saturday morning review of its collection. This took six years to get through. No one at the museum wants to bother supervising it any more.

In other words, while it's harder to see an old movie than borrow an old book, it is still harder to see a classic documentary than an esoteric feature. As a consequence, one is fortunate to have seen even a handful of the films Jay Leyda discusses in his authoritative history of the compilation film.

A compilation film takes previously shot footage from various sources—newsreels, features, documentaries, stock shot libraries—and reworks the material either to reconstruct a historical moment or personage, or to manipulate an idea, especially in the cause of propaganda. You see compilation on TV every day. *Victory at Sea* is the classic; its supervisor, the historian Henry Salomon, Jr., is credited by Leyda with having established the popularity and form of the TV compilation with such programs as *The Innocent Years*, *The Jazz Age* and *Back in the Thirties*.

Leyda is critical of TV's "cozy familiarity" with the past. He dislikes its search for "climax and desperate sensation," its flip or sentimental or pompous commentary which either says too much about the image or ignores it altogether. He dislikes TV's lazy reliance on stills, its excessive intercutting of stereotypes—reducing the twenties, for example, to Charlestons and race riots.

Leyda approves of the Twentieth Century series and the current compilation king, David Wolper, whose *The Making of the President* won all the Emmies last year, "If Wolper can resist the temptations of haste and mechanization," says Leyda, "he could lead television compilation into completely new fields."

In the future, Leyda hopes that artists will take advantage of the infinite amount of material already available on film, that a broader range of subjects, say matters of philosophy and belief, will be treated, and that nations such as Mexico, Cuba, Israel and Brazil will sum up their histories in compilation. Japan won't be able to: "The U.S. Army of Occupation was quite indiscriminately thorough in its destruction and confiscation of Japan's film archives."

Leyda set out to discover "the mysterious process that transforms mere newsreels into documentaries." Part of the answer is found at the cutting table. If you haven't fiddled with film, seen for yourself how meanings change when pieces of film are rearranged, you may find it hard to appreciate how editors create truth.

Leyda tells how Francis Doublier, touring with the Lumière films through Russia in 1898, satisfied his public's interest in the Dreyfus case by cutting together shots of a parade, a public building, a barge and the Nile. Covered with appropriate commentary, the resulting "film" was accepted as the real thing.

Similarly, in the twenties, Joris Ivens would borrow newsreels from Amsterdam and Antwerp theatres after the last Saturday show. He would recut them to express a different class view for Sunday showings to workers. On Monday, in restored form, he would return these "factual views of the world." The camera may not lie, but an editor can make film say what he wants.

Leyda himself is a man of tremendous film-archive experience. He studied with Eisenstein, worked at the Museum of Modern Art Film Library, and wrote the best history of Russian film, *Kino* (1960). Leyda is skilled in compilation, not of film so much as of the materials for biography. His *The Years and Hours of Emily Dickinson* (1960) and *The Melville Log* (1951) and, to a lesser extent, *Rachmaninoff* (1956, with Sergei Bertensson) are definitive gatherings of all available information. These chronological heaps of minutiae are intended to let the reader make his own interpretations. But Leyda retained too much of his exhaustively pure approach in *Films Beget Films*. He ticks off com-

Howard Junker is a documentary film maker who frequently contributes to film magazines.

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a man and of an age

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pilation's history, unable to find a story line in the midst of the events.

As a method, compilation began with the earliest entrepreneurs, who recut the films of Edison and Lumière to create a "new product" of their own. By 1910, Pathé Frères were issuing a regular newsreel. By the twenties, vast newsreel libraries were available for memorials, year-end reviews and histories.

The Russians, who developed the engineering principles of montage, used compilation to celebrate their history. Their great compiler, Esther Shub, did much to recover "lost" footage and to encourage film perservation. She was the first to make an international search for film, the first to consider the cinematic or formal content of a shot, as well as its who-what aspect.

The introduction of sound conditioned audiences to laugh at jerky, silent footage. For a while compilation was ignored. *The March of Time*, which tried to be "newsreel as history," used compilation extensively and, where the event was not on film, used re-enactments. Leyda wonders if some eager researcher in the future may not accept the re-enactment as the real thing.

Everyone used compilation during the war. Leyda mentions the difficulty editors sometimes encountered trying to use captured footage against the enemy. Apparently, film sometimes is intractable and will not be used against its maker's purpose. Since the war the use of compilation has increased in flexibility and sophistication. Leyda cites Nicole Védrès' nostalgic *Paris 1900*; Alain Renais' visit to concentration camps, *Night and Fog;* Ivens' celebration of the working class, *Song of the Rivers;* and the several analyses of Germany's past by Annalie and Andrew Thorndike and Erwin Leiser.

With television, and its appetite for product, compilation has become a standard documentary technique, a subject too common, says Leyda, to have invited anyone else's study. Anyone interested in documentary film will find it invaluable.

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LETTERS

(Continued from inside front cover)

of the American public opposed to the Vietnam war to the extent of desiring unilateral withdrawal. Most of these people supported Lyndon Johnson last year. If a convention were held this summer, sponsored by every group opposed to our present policy, and were to select a prospective peace candidate for President, it would provide a focal point for protest. The convention should say to Mr. Johnson that this candidate will run only if present actions in Vietnam are continued. . . . There is nothing Lyndon Johnson likes more than being President, and the desertion of 29 per cent of the public could prevent him from being elected a second time.

The time is short. We must have no arguments among ourselves on tactics. Peace, civil rights and liberal groups must cooperate. *Bernard J. Farber*

High school in action

Minneapolis, Minn.

Dear Sirs: High school students rarely have much voice in major liberal and progressive student organizations. For that reason we, the students at University High School in Minneapolis, have set up a "high school only" chapter of a new organization called Students for Liberal Action (S.L.A.). We founded it with these five goals in mind:

(1) For the United States to meet world crises with restraint.

(2) For a cease-fire to be obtained immediately in Vietnam.

(3) For the United States to withdraw all its military forces from the Dominican Republic.

(4) For the radical revision, if not abolition, of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

(5) For the repeal of the McCarran Act and the Communist Control Act of 1954.

We will welcome as members all people interested in our program, and would appreciate any ideas from anyone who will support our goals.

Phillip Lindsay, Zachary Baker
Joint Coordinators
Students for Liberal Action
2012 Girard Ave. South

Duncan

New York City

Dear Sirs: Your printing Robert Duncan's celebration of John Wieners' poetry seems to me something very much worth thanking you for.

James Stoller

Unfortunate

Brooklyn, N.Y.

Dear Sirs: In "The American Crisis" [editorial, May 17] you refer to the moral deterioration of the American people implicit in their acceptance of CIA-trained assassination squads and napalm bombing in Vietnam.

It is unfortunate that such tactics are necessary. Could it be, however, that the effective use of certain tactics and weapons by one set of combatants inevitably calls forth the use of countervailing tactics and weapons by their opponents? Or to put it more simply, what's good for the goose is good for the gander.

It seems to me that you might worry a little more about the moral deterioration of the Vietcong which initiated this terrorism. You might also worry about the morally harmful effects of their successful example on potential Asian, African and Latin American imitators.

Joel Silberstein.

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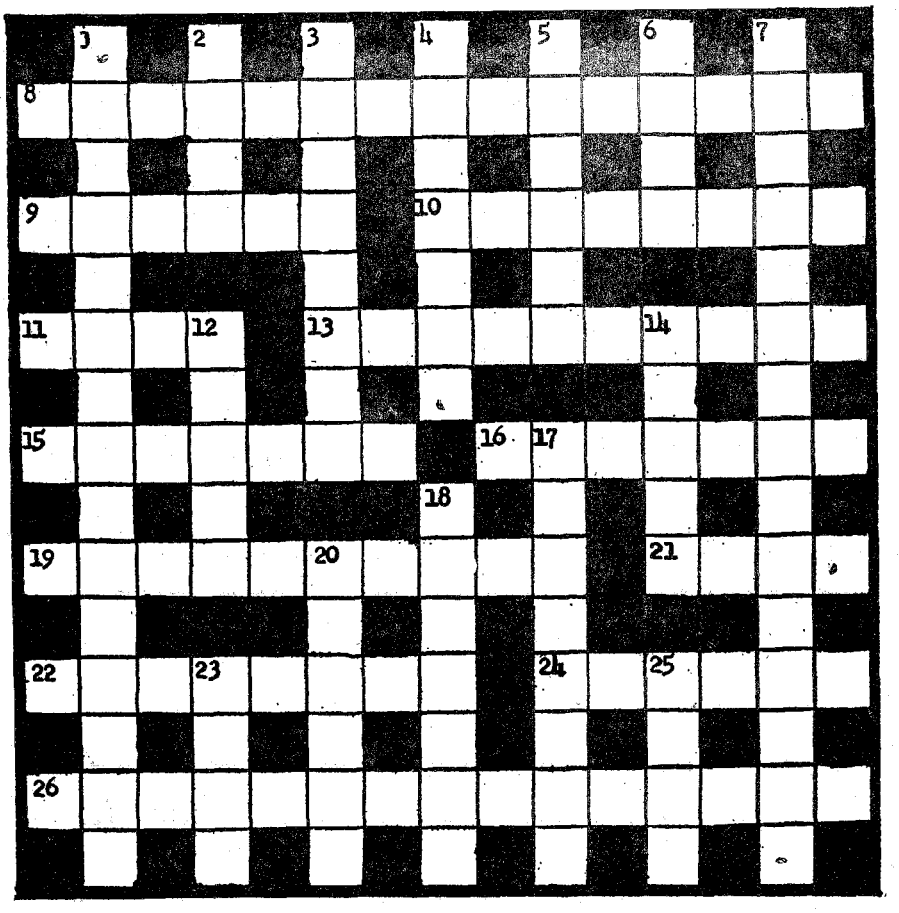
Crossword Puzzle No. 1110

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

8 Free from defect the place of seclusion, though certainly not a charge call. (5, 3, 7)
9 Action on it might accompany 1 down in the theater. (6)
10 He is caught between a gentle touch and a less voluntary motion, and is therefore deserving of pity.
11 With 2 down, this might have a time starting an account. (4)
13 If you're an operator, you might be found to be reciprocal. (2, 8)
15 Left years after with the carriage.
16 Proving a dissonant chord is likely to still be pretty. (7)
19 One who gets paid in money given back for bad ones. (10)
21 Part of the bridge team? (4)
22 See 6 down
24 Answers an argument concerning qualifying words. (6)
26 What one has to go through to make a call to Paris! (But it would only be paid for in this if collect.) (7, 8)

DOWN:

1 The art of ventriloquism? (5, 10)
2 How most matches can be lit? (4)
3 Good-looking—in fact, a knockout! (8)
4 "Le Temps" moved into such edifices. (7)
5 Consumptive. (6)
6 and 22 across Such dwellings still cost money, even if they seem to be falling down! (4-8)
7 If one lost after this, there'd be a deuce of a time, though one might prefer not to be with others. (6, 9)
12 Interchanged with KNO_3? (5)
14 A well-known companion with a short word for a doubter? (5)
17 How to confine wild critters? (8)
18 What the boss might do with lunch hours when a proper subject for breakfast comes up in the main part. (7)
20 Acts in a fetching way. (6)
23 What Third Avenue now has at Christmas? (4)
25 One of the things that go with Scottish banks might be uncovered.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1109

ACROSS: 1 Building blocks; 9 Newport; 10 Latency; 11 Harbin; 12 Crackpot; 14 and 21 down Sitting duck; 15 Sonic; 17 Knave; 19 Grampus; 21 Didactic; 25 Cutting; 26 Thoreau; 27 Prearrangement. DOWN: 1 Benchmark; 2 Inwards; 3 Doolittle; 4 and 23 Noteworthy; 5 Balbriggan; 6 Optic; 7 Kingpin; 8 Eyot; 13 Ringfinger; 15 Sophomore; 16 Candytuft; 18 Auditor; 20 So there; 22 China; 24 Stun.

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